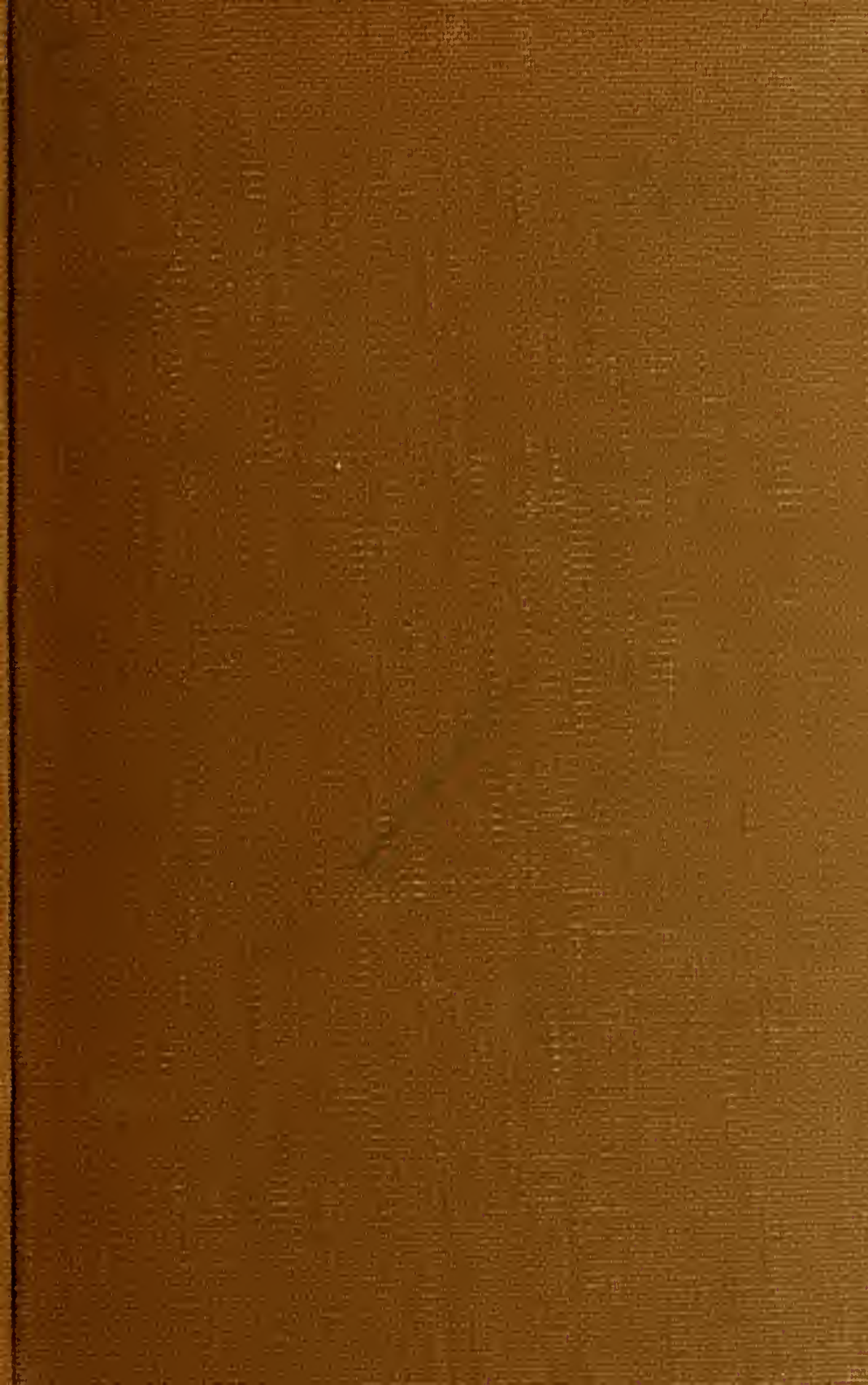






PAPERS

READ BEFORE THE

HERKIMER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DURING THE YEARS

1896, 1897 AND 1898.

COMPILED BY ARTHUR T. SMITH,
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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CONTENTS.

1896 PAPERS.

The Career of Michael Hoffman, by Geo. W. Smith	5
Life, Character and Public Services of John Jay, by Frank B. Parkhurst	27
The First Settlers of the Mohawk Valley, by Mary Shepard Warren	36
Herkimer and Its People During the First Thirty Years of This Century, by Robert Earl	44
Herkimer Seventy Years Ago, by Charles Holt	50
Gen. F. E. Spinner's First Nomination to Congress, by Alexis L. Johnson	53
Personal Recollections of Herkimer Village Dating Back Nearly Seventy Years, by Albert L. Howell	56
The Mohawk River in History, by Robert Earl	62
History of Lotteries in the State of New York, by Robert Earl	69
Buildings in Herkimer Seventy Years Ago, by Jas. A. Suiter	78
Reminiscences Concerning Several Persons Connected With Important Historical Events, by Robert Earl	83
A Historical Mistake Corrected, by Robert Earl	91
John Brown's Tract, by Charles E. Snyder	94

1897 PAPERS.

The Royal Grant, by Geo. W. Smith	7
An Outline Sketch of the History of Tryon County, by Jno. D. Henderson	25
Continental Money, by Wm. C. Prescott	33
Herkimer County Geology in Primitive Days, by Albert L. Howell	39
Early Navigation of the Mohawk River, by Rufus A. Grider	43
Two Prominent Citizens of Herkimer County, by Robert Earl	50
Organic History of the Village of Herkimer, by Robert Earl	55
Andrew Finck, Major in the Revolutionary War, by Jno. B. Koetteritz	59
Loss of Life in the Revolutionary and Other Wars, by Robert Earl	74
Ilion and the Remingtons, by A. N. Russell	76
Two Historic Houses in the Mohawk Valley, by Mrs. M. B. Hedges	94
Slavery in the Colony and State of New York, by Robert Earl	103
Printing and its Development in this Country, by Jno. L. McMillan	115
The Mohawk Turnpike, by Rufus A. Grider	124
Religion in the Colony of New York, by Robert Earl	131

1898 PAPERS.

John Jost Herkimer, by Robert Earl	5
The Dutch in New Netherlands, by John D. Henderson	9
The Town of Russia, by Jas. N. Walters	17
The Town of Schnyler as a Factor in the History of Herkimer County, by J. H. J. Watkins	22
Fragments of Norway's Early History, by Fred Smith	27
Piracy in Its Relation to the Colony of New York, by Robert Earl	32
John Christian Shell and his Block House, by Albert L. Howell	35
Fort Dayton, by Robert Earl	38
The Town of Danube by Edward Simms	42
Fort Herkimer, by Robert Earl	47
The Feeter Family, by Jno. B. Koetteritz	50
The Mohawk Valley and the Palatines, by Robert Earl	57
Newspapers of Herkimer County, by Geo. W. Smith	63

THE CAREER OF MICHAEL HOFFMAN.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE W. SMITH,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society February 13, 1896.

Among the public men of Herkimer county Michael Hoffman is the most striking and interesting figure, and historically his career is most notable. The impression made by him upon the legislation and policy of the state was marked and permanent. His was the leading and constructive mind in what has aptly been called the Herkimer school of politics, as it was known prior to the period that preceded the breaking out of our civil war, and his counsels and public action swayed largely, and sometimes decisively, the policy of his party throughout the state. He was a distinct and strong personality in the galaxy of statesmen in which Silas Wright, Martin Van Buren, Preston King, Samuel Young, and in this county, Arphaxed Loomis, Abijah Mann, Nathaniel S. Benton, William C. Crain, Francis E. Spinner, Abijah Beckwith, Alexander H. Buel, F. P. Bellinger, Ezra Graves, Standish Barry, and their compatriots, were conspicuous.

Mr. Hoffman was a lawyer of learning, ability and force. But he was more. He was endowed with a clear sighted intellect that took within its scope and creative energy important public interests, and with a characteristic eloquence that was displayed upon great measures of which he was the leading advocate in the forum of public affairs. The natural bent of his mind led him to study the

organism of political institutions and the philosophy of popular government. He regarded existing forms not as finalities, but as expedients for securing the present welfare of the state, and he believed that they should be modified and re-constituted when they failed to meet new exigencies, and when new abuses, incident to the exercise of all delegated power required new checks and safeguards. He was a radical in attacking the measures and policies which he regarded as dangerous to the common weal, and conservative in his defence of the whole domain of popular rights. He appreciated the truth that no political foresight can frame political institutions suited to all the varying conditions of social and political growth, and that the exertion of popular power must from time to time restrain the excesses of its delegated power. He believed, with Bellingbroke, that the virtues and essential spirit of popular constitutions must be constantly renewed by the infusion of new elements. His political action took its tone from his appreciating the fact that the present generation is ever endowed with the true antiquity, that it has the final word from the largest experience, and is therefore constantly charged with the duty of providing for the present and the future exigencies that arise in popular government.

His field of action was more strictly

political, while his distinguished co-laborer, Arphaxed Loomis, devoted his large constructive faculties, not only to political measures, but to the work of legal reform. Mr. Hoffman saw what others were more slow to see, that the power of the agents of the people in the legislature needed to be checked and along with Mr. Loomis he began the advocacy of the restraints upon the legislative power to create state debts, which are now regarded as indispensable securities against abuses of the legislative trust. But for the reforms these men initiated, the property of the taxpayers would be largely at the disposal of a lobby at Albany, and the schemes of gigantic debt they are always organized to promote. Others may have perceived that the people's representatives could not be safely intrusted with the power to create the mortgages on the property of the state which organized self-interest might seek to impose, but those Herkimer statesmen were the first to insist that these questions should be decided by the vote, the *plebiscitum* of the whole people.

Born in Saratoga county in 1787, Michael Hoffman's birth was nearly coeval with that of the Federal constitution. He came to Herkimer about 1816, and became the law partner of Aaron Hackly. About 1819 he went to Seneca county and was appointed district attorney in 1823, and he held the same office in 1836. He was elected in 1824 to the 19th congress and re-elected to the 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses. In the national legislature he held high positions in standing committees. He was chairman of the committee on naval affairs, and distinguished himself by able and thorough work in committee, and by his efforts in debate upon questions involving naval affairs. While in congress he corresponded largely with the late Judge Charles Gray, who was several years his junior, and in whose training and career he took a special interest. Some of his letters have been preserved and they throw an interesting light upon the times and upon the writer's solid basis of character. In a letter dated January 16, 1826, he describes his surround-

ings at the capitol. After an apology for delay in writing, he says: "I entreat you to remember and commiserate my unhappy condition, in a house as large as six barns, in a crowd of two hundred men, behind a table filled with unmeaning papers, hearing resolutions only intended to get the name of the mover into the public papers, and papers asking for everything but hanging, and that I am in a city made up, as has been said, with more truth than decency, of brick kilns, bawdy houses and magnificent distances, relieved now and then by a decent house and saved from brimstone by many respectable people."

He expresses a disability to discover the drift of political events, a problem to many another in that formative period in which the older republicanism of Adams, Clay and Calhoun, was about to be confronted and assailed by the newer and more aggressive Republicanism of the Jacksonian Democracy. Of the policy and personality of John Quincy Adams, then president, he wrote: "I can only guess the future, and like the present it will be so amalgamated as to flatter the hopes of eager credulity. Take as a sample the appointment of Mr. King and son,—of Mr. Conkling. Indeed all is mingled. Mr. Adams, as head of the cabinet, can keep control there. He knows his men and I wish you could see him when they pass with the crowd in review before him at levee. He knows himself and seems to feel like a man conscious of his superiority, and he is his own counsel. Perhaps you know his designs as well as any one about him. They hear what he says, and see what he does, and he appears to them perfectly open. But they are far from him, and they can know little more of him than you who are far distant. I feel so in looking at him and his measures. He is a plain man, solid, not awkward, but seems to approach rusticity. cool, collected, of a violent temper, but of unmeasured diligence and exhaustless patience. His temper has not, and will not direct him in any measure. He has his end in view and reaches it by the means suggested in his judgment."

It is to be borne in mind that the political divisions that occurred not long after, had not yet appeared. Mr. Adams was a recognized Republican and a possible Republican candidate. Hoffman's hostility to Adams' administration was excited by Mr. Adams' large interpretation of federal power and his personal favor to the federalists and Clintonians, and Hoffman's complete alienation from the administration soon became manifest. Writing March 10th, 1826, Mr. Hoffman finds the course of public measures wholly adverse to his democratic instincts. He says : "This is a federal administration. The message speaks for the whole. * * All and every possible express or implied power is to be exercised. In addition to past grand projects this government is to spend two or three hundred millions of dollars on canals, roads and bridges, is to have a school fund to loan out and distribute among the states. * * This government should in my view, use the most simple, cheap, and natural means, and never grasp at doubtful powers, and should use of that which is undoubted, the smallest share. The power exerted should be small, cheap, humble, and plain, to be republican."

Mr. Hoffman here shows his predilection for that rigid policy which seeks the good of the greatest number by the minimum of administration which marked his whole public life. For a strict and close construction of all federal, civil and delegated power, he was the steady champion. He opposed the protective system, government banking by the agency of a national bank, and supported afterward the veto of the bill for constructing the Maysville road, one of the projected national roads, believing a system of internal improvements by the federal government not warranted by the constitution. A severe simplicity of character, and a certain Republican austerity of temper, was reflected in his political creed. From his point of view a people unfettered in their industrial activities, burdened lightly by only the forms of frugal administration, and without favored classes or interests,

would better enjoy their liberty, than with a government decorated by pomp and splendor. He believed that classes created by special legislation and enriched by exaction from the masses, were a solecism in popular government, and with Mr. Hoffman to have a conviction was to act upon it.

In the same letter he says : "Complaints have been made against Van Buren and others for endeavoring to influence the politics of New York. They have not deserved this censure but the very reverse. Our political friends in New York must judge, but I will while here advise them of facts. I cannot support a federal amalgamating, all-party administration. Adams and Clinton may be equal to these objections. Will they prove so? Mr. Clinton's friends here support Adams, ask and receive favors ; the Cling Feds will stick to him, the Clings proper, (you know what they can do) may in the last evil hour betray him and come over to a rival party. When I received a line hinting at Mr. Clinton's nomination I answered these facts. * * * I advise, against all amalgamation. Let us be Republicans, go for the whole, gain what we desire, or fail. In the Presidential election, if New York will concentrate her vote in the choice of representatives, and next pass a law providing that the people choose a convention as numerous as the assembly, to meet and by a plurality appoint electors, then she will give 36 votes in the college ; she may go into the caucus safely with 36 votes. But if she will be heard she must have a strong representation here, and an entire college, and other states must know this before the day of trial. * * * If you will elect them it must be by districts, or they will never tell against the mighty patronage of this government when there are three or four candidates."

Writing February 15, 1827, Mr. Hoffman shows no lack of confidence in his ability to meet his associates in debate. He says : "Markell made a short speech (on the judiciary) with which I was pleased. I do not know that I ought longer to forbear, and yet if I go on, ex-

perience may satisfy me that silence would have conferred advantages. I could maintain any scuffle in the House; you may think this boasting, but it is the result of two months close attention. I do not doubt the power to do it, I cannot fear the force, variety or eloquence of any I have heard."

He speaks in this letter of men and measures in a manner that displays the elevated cast of his character and the natural sobriety of his mind. He says: I am not satisfied with the course of events or measures, and to stem them requires union and numbers. All these take the road that cunning points out to folly. Remote from the observation of those they esteem or fear, men here play at private vices which you do not suspect and would not believe if told them. I cannot associate with them in their gay or lewd pursuits. * * *

Of measures, I approve of the defense of the country by proper fortifications. But strange as the fact may appear, yet it is true that there is not now one gun more which we can point at an enemy, than at the close of the late war. Millions have been expended, forts are begun but none finished. Why not? Is it because as long as the work continues there are good jobs, but when the works are finished all jobs end?

Of men there is, I say, no Republican party, but Storrs, Webster, Strong, Minor, Burgess, *these* are REPUBLICANS! Yes, this is the order of the day, men are *Republicans*, but the *party* cannot get to be republican. The "Clings" adhere and asking receive favors * * * Mr. Adams is his own administration; let him support it himself; for one I will not, when it stinks of federalists who opposed the war and country. I like a good honest American federalist, and if you were here to see the Massachusetts and Connecticut "feds" you would be ready to say that a Mohawk federalist was a patriot because he was willing to fight. * * * I hate Governor Strong and the Hartford Convention. * * * I understand what some knaves and fools are about at home—they quit Adams because he is a federal, and support Clin-

ton because (while?) federalists support him and he them! This is neither rhyme nor reason, and you know General Jackson was the man that recommended the striped flag and the no-party system, so we go."

Mr. Hoffman clearly was not pleased with the drift of measures at this period. In 1819 his resolutions hostile to Clinton, introduced and successfully urged by him in a meeting at Herkimer, had divided the party into two factions, known as Clintonians and Bucktails. His feeling against Clinton, whose special supporters he calls "Clings," in 1827 is very pronounced. Benton's history says that Hoffman favored General Jackson's election in 1828, and that his antecedent political action was directed to this object. On such testimony this can hardly be doubted, but in 1827 we find him including General Jackson in his adverse criticism of the men and measures of the day. It may be inferred that Mr. Hoffman entertained a high opinion of Mr. Adams. Some traits of character in the President evidently gained the admiration of Mr. Hoffman, but Adams, as president, gave too wide an interpretation to the Constitution, ascribed to it too great a latitude of power, and his administrative policy showed too much countenance to federalists and Clintonians to permit Mr. Hoffman's toleration.

It is a notable fact that in a house of which Daniel Webster was a member, Hoffman seems to give precedence to Henry R. Storrs, of Oneida, who was indeed one of the ablest men who ever represented this state at Washington. His speech in opposition to the resolutions of McDuffie, of South Carolina, for electing president by districting the States, made the strongest impression of any delivered on that subject, (1 Am. An. Reg. 67.) He maintained that the constitutional intention was to preserve inviolably in the election of president, the separate action of the States as distinct sovereignties, and that the structure of our federative system was founded upon this principle. The curious fact appears that the South, speaking by McDuffie, advocated a practical consoli-

dation in the election of president, while the North, speaking by Mr. Storrs, contended for a vital principle of State sovereignty.

MR. HOFFMAN'S ADVICE TO LAWYERS AND PUBLIC SPEAKERS.

In the letters referred to, Mr. Hoffman gives some useful and sagacious maxims on the formation of a lawyer's character and suggestive rules for acquiring efficiency in public speaking.

"I know," he says that good morals are indispensable to success, not on the ground so often asserted that a good character assists a lawyer to impose his views upon others, but upon the ground that habits of perseverance and industry necessary to success can never exist unless caused and supported by good morals and a sober, upright and righteous life. There is no cant in this. It is the law of nature and must be obeyed. You ought not to be satisfied by any excellence short of that which a virtuous heart can give the mind. You will readily despise the utmost success to which a happy mind can push a vicious mind ; it is not great or desirable, though often envied.

You still suppose the art of speaking is difficult of attainment. It is indeed indispensable to success. While you suppose that none can shine unless gifted by nature, I must say that no mode of speaking which can in any sense be said to *shine* will attain success, and that mere fluency, the envied gift of nature, is perfectly vulgar. * * * You will find ten nay a hundred, speaking men for one speaking mind. The undisciplined mind does not proceed in one continued, unbroken, undeviating course, but breaks, corrects, amends, strays, returns, repeats, and so confounds itself. * * * Words must succeed one after another in the same order, they must succeed thoughts of a *speaking mind*. The mind by effort, habit and practice may be taught to remember all our thoughts on a given subject, but to recollect all the words necessary to express them is not only to burden but to destroy the memory.

A speaking succession of thoughts,

then, is what you must first acquire. In a well written paragraph you have the thoughts arranged in a speaking succession. To study the thoughts in that succession, obliges the mind to associate the thoughts and the words in that order. I know the labor and diligence necessary to effect this end, but habit and practice give ease, facility and force to the mind to arrange its thoughts in this logical succession. This succession of thought is necessary, not only to the student and man of business, but it is indispensable to every man who in public would speak well, because in public he can speak but once, and speaks ill when he is compelled to alter, correct and amend. Fluency of speech is not so great a gift of nature as you have fancied. The want of it is more frequently occasioned by the faulty order in which thoughts occur than by any defect of nature."

In another letter Mr. Hoffman writes : "I will not attempt rules for your direction. Books contain enough—and I had almost said, they never yet did any good. But I will give you one, not worth a farthing if not practiced. Read in some oration or law pleading one, two, three or more of paragraphs until you understand the subject perfectly well and put the main point or principle of each paragraph upon a piece of paper. Let this note be written as short and plain as possible. Then take the first note and speak its substance in a plain and neat manner, so proceed from paragraph to paragraph until you can give a correct, neat and happy utterance to every paragraph of a long discourse.

When you shall have acquired a good speaking mind, you will still feel a difficulty in the choice and manner of expression. In the choice of words and figures you will be obliged to labor much and long. You must select only words that are plain and figures of speech simple and familiar. Every *fetch* at a fine period will injure you and those speakers and writers that you most admire adopt a simple and lucid style. In an art like that of which I am speaking there is no perfection. * * * But the

same colors which might hide and disgrace the canvass may, when arranged by a West show us our blessed Lord and Savior healing the sick, and fill us with reverence and awe. So in speaking the same thoughts disjointed, broken and scattered will disgrace the speaker, but duly arranged, in that order in which words can effectually utter them, they will persuade, convince and sway our judgments."

HOFFMAN IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE.

At the close of Mr. Hoffman's eight years of service in congress he served three years as first judge of this county, and in 1835 he held for a short time the office of canal commissioner. In the assembly of 1841 he appeared with Arphaxed Loomis as his colleague and they together with Col. Sam Young, of Saratoga, opened a campaign of reaction against the improvement policy of Governor Seward. That policy was based upon the famous and glowing report of Mr. Ruggles, made in 1837, and fully endorsed and reproduced in Governor Seward's message of 1839. At the session of 1841 Mr. Hoffman, as chairman of the committee charged to investigate the subject of the state's liabilities, reported that the state debt was virtually \$20,000,000 ; he dwelt upon the impaired credit of the state, apparent in the decline of its six percent. stocks, to twenty per cent. below par and sounded the alarm of bankruptcy. Prior to the election of 1841, Hoffman, Loomis, Young, Flagg and others of similar views on state policy had already begun to look to a new constitution for a permanent barrier against state debt, and they forced the consideration of that question upon the people of the state.

Hoffman and Loomis were re-elected to the legislature of 1842 and Hoffman, despite what he called "the shrieks of locality," continued his assaults upon the improvement policy of Governor Seward and attacked his financial system at all points. Sustained by Comptroller Flagg's report, showing a large treasury deficit, and assuming that the stocks of the state had depreciated from twenty-two to twenty-five per cent., Hoffman

brought in his notable report demanding that canal expenditures should cease, recommending a mill tax, one half of which should be used to reinforce special funds, one half to be paid into the canal fund, in order to restore the credit of the state by beginning the payment of its debt. It requires courage in a public man to advise the laying of direct taxes, but these men had the courage of their convictions, and they created the sentiment that sustained them. The adoption of the "stop and pay policy" in a short time restored the public credit and took the financial fortunes of the state out of the grasp of combinations not unlike those from which Mr. Tilden rescued the tax-payers, thirty-two years after. The opposition to this temporary abandonment of canal improvement was very bitter, and it was suggested by Hoffman's opponents that his original hostility to Clinton and to "Clinton's Ditch," gave edge to the zeal with which he attacked Governor Seward's scheme of public improvements, but it is no longer doubted that the suspension of the public works was an imperative necessity, nor that Hoffman and his associates performed an important service to the state by securing the adoption of that measure.

A measure more far-reaching and destined to become a part of the state constitution regulating the creation of public debt, was proposed by Mr. Loomis with the concurrence of Hoffman and Young to the legislature of 1841. This important and essential safe-guard against the accumulation of state debt by the scheming of contractors and the subserviency of corrupt legislators, was devised by Mr. Loomis who advocated it in the columns of the Mohawk Courier in articles that were largely copied by the press. This measure which has saved millions to the tax-payers of the state provided that every act creating a state debt, must specify the object, that the act must embrace only one object, that the proposition must be submitted to a vote of the people and that all the money raised by such popular vote must be applied to that sole object. The vote on

the resolutions favoring this constitutional check on the creation of public debt, which was first known as Loomis's Resolutions, (and on the suggestion of their author changed to the People's Resolutions) was not reached until 1842, when they failed for want of a constitutional majority, but the discussion of the subject went on and elicited a sentiment which led to the incorporation of their essential features in the constitution of 1846.

An extract from Hoffman's speech reviewing Governor Seward's message of 1842 gives an idea of his vigorous and vehement style and the intensity of his opposition to the debt policy. In a speech continued through most of the 14th and 15th days of January he said: "You may follow in the course of other states and institutions—offer seven, seven and one-half, go to eight, continue this process until like Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, your stocks are sold for forty cents on the dollar. But sooner or later, the hour is approaching, when you must stop in this profligate course, as we have already stopped our public works. If the two houses shall be equal to their duty on this trying occasion let no man tremble for the honor and character of the state. It can be preserved, it should be. Can any man, native or foreign, hesitate between stopping these expenditures and going on at the expense of honor, credit and character? Lives there anything so base on earth that to work itself out of difficulty it would bring this state where Indiana and Illinois are? Where the bank of the United States,—once believed to be beyond the reach of dishonor and bankruptcy,—where Michigan is? Where deficit has put Maryland, an Atlantic state? * * If we will only stand by our credit,—cease our expenditures—pay as we go—we shall overcome this storm, stand erect, and in the markets of Europe, our merchants will be the merchants of the republic, our banks the banks of the republic, our reputation in a word like that of the people of Holland. But if seeking popularity for an hour, dreading the influence of this and that locality, winking there

at a railroad, and there at an extension, the credit of the state in peril and itself on the verge of bankruptcy; when calamity comes upon us and we call on the mountains to cover us the earth itself will spurn us, the ashes of the dead on which we stand would be dishonored.

* * No language of reprobation can express the deep indignation that men must face when they see their country urged, urged to the fatal brink of ruin."

In the following March Mr. Hoffman reported from the committee of ways and means a bill entitled, "An Act to Provide for the Payment of the Debt and Preserving the credit of the State" framed in accordance with the views of the advocates of the "stop and pay" policy. It passed both houses at once. In consequence of this act, the stocks of the state rose in a few months from a depreciation of from twenty to twenty-two per cent. to par value. Most of the leaders in this movement deemed it essential to promptly initiate measures to restore the credit of the state, but Col. Young thought mere legislation would prove only a temporary check, that the debt promoting schemes would re-appear as the public credit revived, and that no effectual bar could be found short of a constitutional injunction against the legislative-making of debt. Mr. Hoffman believed that a constitution should be framed embracing that feature, but insisted that the legislative check should be applied at the earliest moment to restore the credit of the state, a result which was secured by the act of 1842.

As to Mr. Hoffman's efforts in the legislation of 1844 Mr. Benton says: "In 1844 the democratic majority favored the canal improvement policy and elected a speaker, (Mr. Elisha Litchfield, of Onondaga,) who differed with Mr. Hoffman on the 'stop and pay' policy. But," says Mr. Benton, "there are few if any instances in the history of the legislature of this state where a single member exerted such powerful influence as did Mr. Hoffman during this session. He did not trouble himself to advocate many of the measures that were brought

before the House, but he took unwearied pains to oppose and defeat every project he considered unsound, impolitic or mischievous, and he seldom failed."

HOFFMAN ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

Mr. Hoffman was strongly opposed to the annexation of Texas. Personally attached to Mr. Van Buren, and as loyal to that statesman's political views and fortunes as was consistent with his own independent judgment, he detested with all the energy of his uncompromising nature, the instrument which was forged or used by Mr. Van Buren's enemies for his political destruction. There was an incipient rebellion among many leading democrats against this measure, and especially against the underlying motive—the increase of slaveholding territory and the power of the slaveholding class. William C. Bryant, David Dudley Field, George P. Barker and other free soil democrats, issued a famous circular for the purpose of obtaining signatures to a proposed declaration to the effect that the signers while supporting Polk and Dallas, protested against the resolutions of the national convention respecting Texas, on the ground that they interpolated new doctrines into the party code that were opposed to established principles and "abhorrent to the opinions and feelings of a great majority of northern freeman." At the head of the list to whom this circular was addressed, stood the name of Michael Hoffman. Among other names were those of Nathaniel S. Benton, Hiram Denio, Freeborn G. Jewett, Preston King and Samuel Young. It was generally understood that Silas Wright was in sympathy with this movement, but his position as candidate for governor made it inexpedient to call out his views upon that subject. The proposed declaration did not appear. Its suppression was of course due to a conviction that such a manifesto signed by such representative democrats might be fatal to the democratic nominees, and however ill affected toward the nomination of Polk, and deep as was their chagrin at the setting aside of Van Buren, the democratic free soilers could

not abide the possible election of their old enemy, Henry Clay.

But Mr. Hoffman was very reluctant to take the role of passive obedience to party dictation. He at one time announced to his friends that if he could count upon the support of any considerable body of the democratic party for such a step he was still ready to call a meeting in the park of New York city, and speak against the annexation project. But the counsels of men more attached to party than tenacious of principle, finally prevailed. Had Hoffman raised the standard of revolt, it is far from certain that his appeal to that great body of democrats who gave him their implicit confidence, might not have defeated Polk, and changed the course of political history in this state and nation. Since the circular letter was not addressed to Mr. Loomis nor Horatio Seymour, it is to be inferred that they differed in opinion from Hoffman, and such was no doubt the fact. The course of events it may be said has vindicated their judgment. But the geographical fact that the Mississippi makes its way through Louisiana to the gulf, was the guarantee of nature that our ocean frontier must be upon the Gulf of Mexico, and the courses of the Red, the Colorado, the Brazos and the Rio Grande, taking their way from sources which would naturally fall under our control in the progress of western settlement, gave a like assurance that the domain which they traversed in their course to the gulf, would be brought under our flag. An unjust and deliberately planned war of invasion on Mexico only hastened the acquisition of territory which would have been secured by our natural expansion westward, and without conquest by war.

MR. HOFFMAN IN THE CONVENTION OF '46.

The convention of 1846 was called under a legislative act of 1845, by a vote of 213,257 in its favor and 38,860 opposed. The project for calling the convention had its origin mainly in the Herkimer school of politics, and this county gave in its favor 4,346 votes, to 86 opposed. Mr. Hoffman was elected a member for this county, though residing at the time

in the city of New York, where he was acting as U. S. naval officer at that port. He was elected as the special champion of the anti-debt policy and to secure its incorporation into the constitution. On that issue he represented the friends of that policy throughout the whole state as well as Herkimer county. Upon all the questions that he debated, his was the dominant mind, and he was the intellectual leader of the convention. His unerring common sense and intuitive discrimination solved questions by a resort to vital principles. In the debate upon the veto power, members appealed to ancient history and precedents, but his arguments and analysts, drawn from our own national politics, showing that this power was truly conservative of popular rights, set aside all the precedents cited against it. In the debate on the system of jury trial, while others saw in it only a protection to personal liberty and property rights, Hoffman declared it to be "the great school of civil wisdom in any free country which more than all other schools put together, taught practical lessons of liberty and freedom." Not this only, but while in his view, the right of a citizen to be tried by a jury was indeed important, the right to be a juror was one of the muniments of popular government, and he regarded "the right to sit in judgment on the controversies of his fellows" as a right more important than the right of the suffrage itself, and as "the highest power man could exert." He perceived in this ordinary function of the citizen not only a legal franchise, but a vital political force which is felt throughout the whole body politic, elevating and preserving it: views which displayed his powers of penetrating to the essential and general in political institutions.

Mr. Hoffman's greatest effort was, of course, his speech in support of the financial article. The grasp and comprehension of the questions of finance, state debt and the sacredness of public faith which he exhibited, were unequalled in their completeness, clearness and force, and it may be questioned if

that speech has ever been excelled by any of the masters of finance. Given orally and while suffering from a physical pain that embarrassed his delivery, and dealing with complicated financial operations running through many years, his presentation of the whole subject was so lucid and convincing that the conclusions drawn by him could not be resisted. The member who first arose to reply spoke of Mr. Hoffman as the Ajax Telamon of the debate furnished and aided by documents and statistics as he proceeded, by Ulysses (Mr. Loomis) and any one who peruses that massive and powerful argument enforced as it is by a high order of eloquence, must admit the justice of the appellation. Borne down by disease aggravated by his arduous labors in the convention and in the legislature, he did not long survive them. He died in Brooklyn, September 27, 1848, and his remains lie in the old cemetery at Herkimer.

There may be those who will regard Hoffman's dislike of public debt as too intense, and as exaggerated. But having watched the slow and painful task of paying off the public debts caused by revolution and the war of 1812, and believing that public like private debts, create a kind of slavery, he looked upon them with horror. His pride in the financial integrity of the state, and his dread of a treasury deficit were akin to those felt by men of rigid business methods in respect to their private affairs. It was with no affected alarm that he beheld the prospect of defaults in meeting state obligations, the growing depreciation of the public credit, and the danger of a possible repudiation.

Michael Hoffman was a republican of the old school, a school in which just principles were sought as guides for conducting public affairs. He had the simplicity of character, the frank earnestness, the strong and abiding sense of impartial justice and of the rights of the masses which befit the exponent of a true democratic system. He had no private aims that were not subordinate to his convictions of duty to the state. He performed well his part among the

men who by devoted service and public spirit gave lustre to the classic age of our political history, at a period when Webster brought into bold relief the national potency of the federal constitution, and when Jackson sustained it by the vigor of his administration, that period when the profound and majestic oratory of the statesman and the iron will of the soldier roused an enthusiasm for nationality, which, when nullification rose to armed secession, became a burning patriotic rage that fused all sections, all parties, all the elements of nationality into the indissoluble and invincible republic.

Though not called to the highest offices of the state, yet, Mr. Hoffman's work in his chosen theatre of action was equal to the demands of the hour, there it was, *teres et rotundus*, rounded and complete. If it may be said that his convictions were tinged by prejudice and affected by personal dislikes, it is also true, that these are generally inseparable from such a type of character. His remarkable sway over the public mind came from none of the devices of the demagogue; his arts were only honest arts, he never stooped to play a part, never fawned for the favor of any power that he regarded as injurious to the public welfare, never sought for public applause. Yet he was beloved scarcely less than he was admired. He had the titles of nobility, the affectionate distinctions conferred by democracies upon those favorites that they learn to trust. He was known as the "old Admiral" and as "old Iron Gray," and his plain gray suit, was more to his fellow citizens than any crown or robe of state. Mr. Hoffman divided the hours of his busy life between his profession, his public duties, books and discourse with political disciples who were proud to sit at his feet. He was fond of sharing his stores of knowledge with young men, and sought to elevate their views and aims. He read and studied *currente calamo*, writing out what his reading suggested, and now and then running his pen through words and clauses that offended his taste for concise expression.

I first saw Mr. Hoffman on the occasion of his making a speech at Middleville in 1842. I remember him as being of spare build, rather above medium height, with something of a student's stoop, except when his impassioned oratory brought him erect and to his full stature. His gray suit, long iron-gray hair, his eyes deep-set and penetrating, his grave and thoughtful aspect, his intense earnestness of delivery, that seemed to struggle under the restraint imposed by strong self-control, together made up a personality not to be forgotten. It is believed that no likeness of Mr. Hoffman is in existence, as he had a great repugnance to give a sitting for that purpose. It is related that on one occasion Mr. Loomis persuaded him to sit for the taking of a daguerreotype, which was defaced by some accident before it was finished, and he could not be induced to again submit to what was to him an irksome ordeal.

In surveying Mr. Hoffman's career we see the self-reliance of a positive character tenoned as it were in granite, the eye single to the interests of the state, that freedom from sordid and vulgar self-seeking, united with boldness of action in emergencies, and that energy fruitful in results, which are found only in statesmen of the first order. His traits of character justly connect his fame with that of Silas Wright, the Cato of America. No other man of this state at any period of its history, more truly parallels the noble simplicity, the devoted and unselfish patriotism, the self-sustained and unshaken independence, the native power without ostentation, and the intellectual force of that model republican statesman. The unbiased, sober judgement of all parties assigns a position to Silas Wright upon the pedestal built in the hearts and memories of New Yorkers, and on which they cherish the fame of their best statesmen. He stands there among peers, but not superiors, and Michael Hoffman stands second to him alone in the qualities that sustain popular governments in their most beneficent action for securing the truest and widest welfare of the community, and

the greatest good of the greatest numbers.

MR. HOFFMAN'S SPEECH ON THE PROPOSED
AMENDMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTION
IN RESPECT TO THE ELECTION
OF PRESIDENT AND
VICE-PRESIDENT.

After the reading of the foregoing the speech of Mr. Hoffman, delivered in the House of Representatives March 29, 1826, came to the hands of the writer. There is probably no other copy extant, and considerable extracts are here reproduced. Mr. George McDuffie, of South Carolina, had introduced resolutions for amending the Constitution so as to provide for the election of president and vice-president by a general district system. As has been stated Henry R. Storrs, of Oneida, spoke against the resolutions. Among others who engaged in the debate were Edward Everett, of Massachusetts; Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, and Ralph Ingersoll, of Connecticut. Mr. Hoffman argued in favor of abolishing the electoral college and for a district system that would take the election from the House. His speech was extensive and elaborate, and while characteristic of his style of argument and oratory it is interesting for his views on various subjects. After speaking of an illness that had prevented his hearing a considerable part of the debate and expressing his concurrence with the eulogies pronounced upon the framers of the Constitution, he said :

"Their good character expresses our duty. We must not shrink from the responsibility of our situation. Like them we must examine into the states's condition and the wants of the society in which we live; and if the advancement of the interest or happiness of the citizens of the states requires it, we must propose proper amendments to the Constitution according to its provisions. We must endeavor to perfect the work they so happily began; and not disappoint the just expectations of our predecessors."

Replying, in passing, to Mr. Storrs objection to the proposed amendment and

his remark that the framers of the Constitution seemed "to have been inspired in their labors," he suggested that if any part of the Constitution was the work of inspiration it was that part which provided for making amendments. Continuing, he said :

"Akin to this is the argument of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Everett). He tells us 'it is not constitutional to propose the contemplated amendments'—and he went into argument to support his position. He seems to suppose that some parts of the Constitution are unessential without informing us by what rule we shall know them to be so. With those he admits we may play and may amend them, but he denies that we may amend the Constitution in any of its essential features. I am unwilling to admit a doctrine which leaves it to the caprice of each individual to say this or that part of the Constitution is a material or immaterial characteristic of it. When he objects to us our oath to support the Constitution he is well answered by those who reply that the oath applies as well to the clause making it the duty of Congress to propose amendments, when necessary, as to any other part of the compact.

"But as he may not be satisfied with this reply, and as I desire the aid of his eloquence and vote to procure this amendment, I will urge upon his mind another consideration. The amendment is, or is not necessary. If it is necessary to the security of the rights of the citizen, the prosperity of the several states and the peace of the union—admit that it is. Is it then unconstitutional to propose it? His argument goes the whole length to declare that however necessary the amendments may be, even if necessary to provide against foreign invasion or domestic evils—the amendments can not be adopted. I can not agree with him. Those parts of the constitution which in practice operate on the person or property of the citizen must always be material. We must amend it wherever it operates injuriously to the personal liberty or personal security of

the citizen or to his rights to private property, or render them in the least degree insecure, and they can never be secured to him but by securing to him a reasonable and proper share of political power to defend them. * * * The first question that presents itself is, how are the electors of president and vice-president chosen? The Constitution, art. 2, sec. 2, declares that "each state shall appoint in such manner as the legislature may direct a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled to in the congress."

The manner in which it was thought this appointment would be generally made may be different from some others the words would admit of. The convention which framed and the states which adopted the constitution undoubtedly believed that the general practice under the clause would be that the citizens of the states would in some way appoint the presidential electors. * * * If any doubts could be raised on this subject, the clause should be liberally construed for the benefit of the states, who, as parties to the compact, reserve the right of appointment to themselves. If I had any doubts, a regard for state rights would induce me to resolve them in favor of the state, and I would say that the state may make the appointment by any body of men in whom they may choose, by law, to vest the power of appointment. Mr. Hoffman then declares the arguments of Messrs. Stevenson and Everett complete and perfect to show that such was the power vested on the states. Continuing he said:

"But, if the question were a new one; if we had not the secret journal of the convention; if, without any practice, we were now about to carry the constitution into practice, there could be no reasonable doubt in giving a construction to the clause in question. If it be said that the electors *must* be appointed by the people and can not be appointed by the legislature, then the question will occur, by what or by the whole of the citizens? by those of full age, or by

those who are minors? by the freehold voters of the state authorized to vote for senator and governor, or by the voters authorized to vote for the most numerous branch of the state legislature, or by the voters in their primary assemblies of the people and their towns? For the state constitutions were then existing, and in that of New York were these different classes of voters. If the convention intended the choice *must* be made by the voters would they have left it so wholly uncertain by what class of voters the appointment should be made." Referring to the precise methods prescribed for the election of representatives and senators he said: "They no doubt believed that (the appointment) would be in general practice, be made in some way by the voters of the state; but they must have understood that it *could* and *might* be made in any other manner in which the state in its judgment may direct. If they did not intend this *could be done* why did they leave this appointment so unlimited in the manner and yet so cautiously guard the choice of representative and senator."

Mr. Storrs in his speech denied the power of the two houses of the legislature to make this appointment, and declared its exercise in 1824 to be usurpation. Mr. Hoffman, replying to this, and continuing his argument in support of the state's unlimited discretion, said: "I wish to call to the notice of my colleague and the committee so much of the legislation of New York as relates to this subject. In our state (my colleague, though not a native, is a citizen of the state) nothing can be better settled as matter of law on the highest authority than the proposition for which I contend. Under the old constitution the council of revision was composed of the governor, the chancellor and the justices of the Supreme Court. They possessed a powerful negative upon every bill, and in the theory and practice of the government were especially charged with the duty of permitting none to pass that might infringe upon the constitution. Yet the law of that state, vesting in the two houses of the

state legislature the power of appointing presidential electors passed again and again the severe scrutiny of the council of revision. The charge of usurpation made by my colleague applies, if at all, more strongly to those who passed the act than to those who acted under it. It would include many legislatures of that state. The legislature of 1824 did not pass the act. They were in the exercise of this power the humble followers of the great men who had gone before them—the fathers and patriots of the state.”

The first general act of that state vesting this power to appoint presidential electors in the two houses of the state legislature was passed April 12, 1792, when the council of revision consisted of George Clinton, the governor, who knew the constitution and always did his duty; Robert Yates, John S. Hobart, John Lansing, Jr., and Robert R. Livingston, the last of whom, at least, was well informed of the nature and design of the constitution. The bill became a law with the sanction of these great men and able lawyers. This bill was re enacted March 26, 1796. John Jay was then governor, and did he not understand the constitution? The judges just mentioned with Morgan Lewis and Egbert Bensen composed the council of revision. But, sir, this bill was amended November 12, 1804, and the electoral college itself was authorized to supply any vacancies which might happen from death or absence. This power to supply vacancies is a power to appoint, and the college appointed by the legislature is empowered to appoint electors to supply the places of such as might be absent. Was this unconstitutional? Who were the council of revision? Morgan Lewis, who had been an able judge in the Supreme Court, was governor; John Lansing, jr., an able lawyer, familiar with everything relative to the constitution, was chancellor. The justices of the Supreme Court were James Kent, a profound jurist and civilian, whose opinions will be respected as long as virtue is esteemed; Brockholst Livingston, who has adorned the bench of

the Supreme Court of the union; Smith Thompson, who now adorns that bench; Ambrose Spencer, who as a lawyer had few equals and no superior; Daniel D. Tompkins, since known as a patriot to every friend of the country. On a legal or constitutional question the opinions of these men would weigh against the opinion of any body of men ever assembled in the union. * *

But, sir, these are not all that are reached by the denunciations of my colleague. On the 15th of March, 1825, the legislature of that state, composed of the old senate, who may not find favor with my colleague, and a house of assembly warm from the people and composed mostly of patriots elected in that triumph which returned my colleague to this house, after deliberation and debate, passed an act establishing the district system in that state, the adoption of which, while other states do not, my colleague declares to be “an act of political suicide.” That act divides the state into electoral districts and provides for the appointment of 34 presidential electors by the voters, and authorizes this college so appointed, when met, not only to supply vacancies, but also to appoint two additional electors, never chosen by the people, corresponding with the two senators in the congress of the United States. Governor Clinton had throughout recommended the general ticket system for the state and opposed the district system for the state until the United States should establish it uniform throughout the union. Opposed as he was to the policy of the act, it received the constitutional sanction of that able lawyer and statesman. If unconstitutional would he not have interposed his veto? Would he not have discovered so fatal an objection to the bill? Is he, too, an “usurper?”

The gentleman from Virginia, who spoke second in the debate, (Mr. Stevenson,) objects to one of these amendments. He supposes that to district the states will enfeeble the power of the state legislatures, and tells us in his own forcible manner that the state legislatures are by the constitution the senti-

nels of the liberties of the people, placed to warn against the encroachments of arbitrary power. This allegation, made in his own eloquent manner, appeared like an argument; but it was appearance only, for in a few minutes, in a statement made in the same forcible manner of the facts of history, he overthrew this, theoretical supposition. When, in 1798, the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia, seeing the approaches of arbitrary power seizing upon the vitals of the constitution, called upon the legislatures of their sister states to aid in the defense of freedom, seven out of nine of these sentinels slept. They replied there is no danger; they deserted their posts and slept in the enemy's camp. 'The Praetorian bands', I correct the reading of my colleague (Mr. Storrs,) enervated and debauched as they were, had yet sufficient force to awe the Roman populace, but when the distant legions took the alarm they marched to Rome and gave away the empire.' Yes, sir, the state legislatures slept in the enemy's camp, but the people of the United States rose in their sovereign will, produced the political revolution of 1800, and brought back the constitution to its original simplicity. Will you struggle to retain these sleeping sentinels of your liberty and keep away the people, your real defenders? I desire that the state legislatures should be sentinels as much as the gentleman from Virginia. They will not be the less vigilant as sentinels by the adoption of this amendment; they will be more so. As organized bodies they will have nothing to do directly with the presidential election. He will not be the president of their making, and they will be impartial judges of his conduct. * *

In his most conscientious zeal to resist these amendments my honorable colleague (Mr. Storrs) has told us that there is in some states a "peculiar population" counted in the distribution of political power, though incapable of exercising it, and he warns those states of the dangers which he discovers in the prospect. * * Two-thirds of the states may propose, but it requires three-fourths of the

states to adopt any amendment. The period which he treats as dangerous to these states must then be remote indeed. long, I fear, before these states will be without this peculiar population. But will the adoption of this amendment hasten that dreaded event? No, sir. Will the rejection of it retard that event? No, sir. Will the practice of the constitution as it now stands dry up the sources of population in the free states and prevent the increase of their numbers or the numbers of their people? No, sir. Whether you adopt or reject these amendments, that period will be neither hastened nor protracted.

The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Everett) has unburthened his mind upon this subject where I have never felt a burthen. As the proposition which he has asserted may be applied to my children, I will repeat it to deny it. I will employ his own words. I know I have them nearly, and I believe entirely correct. He says: "Slavery, domestic slavery, say what men will, is a condition of life as clearly as any other, defensible by religion, morality and national law or international law." I deny it. My religion will be found in the example and precepts of the Saviour of the world, including in them the best system of morals, and my international law on this subject is written in the Declaration of Independence. What a doctrine the gentleman has adopted! Let not the master lay this doctrine to his heart to give it ease. It should be more dreadful to him than to the slaves. It frees none and may bind all! The toil-worn slave may not dread it, but it may be pushed to the master himself. Is this doctrine to be the practice of this coalition administration in which the gentleman tells us it is honorable for any man to serve? For my country I hope not and will believe not. It is a terrible doctrine. It has enslaved Asia and depopulated the fairest parts of the earth. Desolation marks its progress. And if insular Hayti is odious is continental Barbary less so, where on the one side of the Mediterranean is a master, on the other is a slave doomed

to servitude 'where hope never comes, that comes to all, but torture without end still urges.'

Having said this as an answer to the gentleman's proposition, let me add what I think useful: Religion, morality and national law forbid—not slavery only—~~forbid not domestic slavery only~~, forbid the citizens of one sovereign state to interfere with and disturb the domestic concerns of another; forbid the neglect of self-reformation and a hypocritical pretense to reform others who have never offended. Slavery is an evil; it is a domestic evil, and must be reformed and removed by the justice and wisdom of the society in which it may be found.

The gentleman of the south may be well informed as to the best remedy for this evil, and yet I should be unwilling to have them come into New York to teach us how to dispose of the few that remain to us of this unfortunate race, and I feel as little disposed to travel after these evils. Every society must reform its own abuses, and if evils are neglected the society must and will suffer the consequences. I would say to the Virginian, the Carolinian, the Georgian—rely upon your own wisdom and your own justice; if you have evils reform them; rely upon yourselves. Aids are promised, but never look to Rome for aids. You are sovereign states, the aids may not come in time. In a single day in a Servile war the tables may be turned, and when the aid shall come you may be stretched on the earth; a sable sovereignty may wave its sceptre over your wives and your children, and power may repeat to them 'slavery, domestic slavery, say what men will, is a condition of life as easily as any other defended by morality, religion, national law and international law.'

Another argument is urged against the amendments: We are told that they will destroy state rights. State rights are dear to me, and I respect them, but what have they to do with this question, unless, like slavery, they are to be urged into every debate? They cannot be preserved by mere theories contradicted by practice. Let this government exercise

the least power which can effect the constitutional ends of its establishment, and in nothing affect splendor, and state rights will be secure. But when the powers of the government are to be extended what do we hear about state rights? When this government desires to incorporate a bank and the bank has carried the ramparts of the constitution; to construct canals; to send a mission to a congress of nations; to exercise a guardianship over Indian tribes within the jurisdiction of the old states, which were independent sovereignties before this government was in being, do we then hear of the sovereign rights of the states? * * But when it is proposed to touch the political power of this house—then, and not till then, are state rights endangered. When this house is called upon to give up to the citizens of the states the power of choosing a president, then we are alarmed with the cry of state rights. The question is not between this government and the states. No, sir. It is between this house holding and the citizens of the United States demanding the power to elect the executive of the union. If the small states are endangered will they not discover it and reject the amendments? If the rights of the large states are to be destroyed will they not foresee it and secure their rights by refusing to adopt the amendments? The states do not elect a president here; it is the house who elects him. The large states can not value a right so perfectly worthless. My colleague, (Mr. Storrs,) who opposes the amendments out of regard for state rights will, I hope, aid us to send the amendments to the states, that they may judge for themselves. The states will take care of their own rights when the question comes before them. * *

In my reflections upon the subject of these amendments I have found to my entire satisfaction that the establishment of a system of districts equal in political power is necessary for the convenience of the large states and the safety of the small ones, and is desired. * * Without the amendments you force the large states to consolidate their electoral

power, and you drive them into coalitions to enable the moral force and intelligence of the people to choose their president. I do not threaten the evil. It will come. Some states now small in numbers will increase their fertile and extended territories, and will, I hope, soon be populous. They will join the coalition. Every man in the least acquainted with the affairs of life must anticipate these things. The same circumstances will oblige the large states in the measures necessary to secure their one vote in the house, to consolidate in their representation in congress. What will be the consequences? I will not attempt to enumerate the evils I dread, but they will be more terrible than the fancied political distractions of New York, so strongly deprecated by my honorable colleague, (Mr. Storrs.)

In his opposition to the resolutions he has alluded to the "political distractions" of New York, rejoiced at the abolition of her council of appointment, though he dislikes amending constitutions. He has denounced "the caucus system" of the state, and represents as still more odious the caucus system that will grow up in districts. * * The history of the state will vindicate her old constitution and her council of appointment, and the abolition of both will vindicate her parties, her caucus system and her "district system," and will prove the absolute necessity of establishing a general system of districts throughout the United States.

Her old constitution was framed by our ancestors amidst the perils of the revolution. It was the child of a caucus and carried the state safe to independence. The council of appointment was wisely intended to secure the due execution of her laws and to exclude disaffection, then existing, from executive offices. It supported the state in the first controversy with England, and in the hands of a patriot citizen, whose death will long be lamented, it gave security and strength to the union in the late war. But when the population of the state had increased to a million five hundred thousand and its patronage to more than a million a year, * * then,

sir, it became too heavy for the feeble arm of the council. The council could not know the character of the applicants for office. The governor, Mr. Clinton, recommended the call for the convention. Instantly the republican party adopted the recommendation and carried the measure. * * I aided in that effort. A convention was called, the constitution was amended, the council of appointment was abolished and the power of appointment distributed and placed in other hands; the right of suffrage was extended, a new judiciary was provided, better suited to the increasing wants of the state, and a completion of her canals was secured by the constitution itself.

Her caucus so denounced originated in the revolution; it framed the constitution itself and conducted the state safely through that dreadful struggle. It was then hated by the tories, and has been complained of by men whose ambition outruns the public judgment in its desires for office. But, sir, what is this hated caucus system? The citizens assemble in their towns and discuss public measures and public men. They choose their delegates to represent their judgments in the county convention. Warm from their hands they express strongly the judgments of the people. The county conventions send delegates to those of the senate districts and to the state caucuses. If they expressed less of the sense of the people politicians might desire them more, but no man can be found who will, in these caucuses or out of them, entirely disregard the judgments of the people. * * All the great men of the state have been supported by it, not as my colleague supposes, "wanting principle and lacking bread," but serving their country. This caucus system is the instrument of the public judgment, and has been employed in everything. The public judgment it expressed made the state, framed the constitution, amended it, abolished the council of appointment, enacted her laws, established her common schools and school fund, endowed her academies and colleges and secured the com-

pletion of her grand canals. * * * Every party in the state has used it, and will continue to use it, however it may be denounced here. I know that this instrument will be brought to operate on this very question. One million six hundred thousand people will not consent to see the presidential election taken from them and brought here. They will not consent that their force, their intelligence, their political power, shall be reduced to a single vote in this house. The powers of this government must be distributed and exercised among the citizens of the respective states in a proportion something like the moral force of numbers and intelligence. Even my honorable colleague himself, (Mr. Storrs,) in his practice contradicts his theory. He never declined the support of a caucus. I do not blame him for condemning his own acts, but I like his example better than his precepts on this subject, and justify myself from his censures by the acts of a great man.

My honorable colleague (Mr. Storrs) exulted at the imaginary destruction of the New York caucus system. Sir, it is not destroyed. The legislative caucus of 1824 nominated a governor and lieutenant governor and adjourned in April. From that day forth the electoral law was pushed, debated, discussed, until in September a mighty state caucus, under the name of a state convention, met at Utica. Speeches were made, reporters were employed; the electoral law was again discussed. The caucus then nominated candidates for governor and lieutenant governor. Then it was that politicians (and there will be some such in a society so numerous as ours) changed their politics "more frequently than a decent man does his shirt." The constituents of my colleague were many of them friendly to the advancement of the present incumbent, and being in a manufacturing district many of them strongly favored the claims of the secretary of state. I opposed the Utica caucus, by the aid of which my honorable colleague secured his election. But my honorable friend from the city of New York, (Mr. Cambreling,) was not a

candidate favored by this caucus. He was supported by a caucus of different politics; neither is destroyed. It was caucus against caucus—Greek against Greek.

I have mentioned these things to show you, sir, that the district system was well understood and well considered by the people of this state. A season of tranquility favorable to a correct judgment—not an apathy of the public mind—ensued. At the January session of the state legislature in 1825 the governor recommended the general ticket system. The patriots returned by that election, which gave my colleague (Mr. Storrs) his seat, after debate and deliberation, excepting only some seventeen or eighteen, passed the district bill agreeing with the judgment of the senate. Is this no judgment?

My honorable colleague stated that the whole number of votes given in favor of the district system was about 47,000 (I took down his numbers;) that the votes given for the general ticket were 43,000, making the whole number given 90,000, and the majority for districts 4,000. In the state paper, the *Albany Argus*, of December 13, 1825, is an official copy of the canvass. The whole number of votes on this question was not 90,000, but 137,840. * * * Of these votes it is stated that there were "by districts" 66,324; by "general ticket majority" 941; "by general ticket plurality" 56,901, giving the district system over both general tickets a majority not of 4,000, but of 8,882. Is this no judgment? And if the canvass be corrected by adding to those allowed only such as are most evidently intended for the district system, having "district" written on them, and giving to the general ticket all others, however intended, and there is a majority in favor of the district system of 14,333 votes out of 137,840, being a proportion greater than was ever given on any question in this state. Is this no judgment? * * *

I insist, sir, that the amendments proposed are necessary to keep the election out of congress, and to save from total

ruin the character of the house of representatives.

When, in 1801, the election came here, amendments were proposed and adopted to prevent the recurrence of the event of an equality of votes between two candidates. Since then this difficulty could not occur, and we have had but two opposing candidates until the last election. The race of revolutionary patriots are gone—and it has been justly remarked, we shall have “Richmonds enough.” All seem to concur that we shall have these, four or five candidates. If the “informal conference system” be continued—if no caucus can concentrate and express (not create and control) the public judgment, shall be adopted, no election will occur without four or five candidates. In every such case the election will, in all probability, come into the house. Yet the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Ingersoll) tells us the constitution has succeeded completely in this particular provision of it. For thirty years the colleges decided the elections. But if, as seems admitted by all, each succeeding election, like the past, must be made by this house, then I affirm the constitution has wholly failed and the amendment of 1803 is entirely defeated. The people are thrown out of the election whenever it is brought repeatedly into the house, and it will produce the most serious evils, both in and out of doors.

The gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Stevenson) insists that the house is pure, but he admits that it has passions which the election excites or embitters. I do not know, sir, what gentlemen mean when they say the house is pure, and they have not informed us exactly what they mean by this supposed corruption, which is denied. Without attempting to be more explicit, without alleging that gross corruption, which labors for immediate gain, or denying its existence—let me say that when it is admitted that the house has passions, gentlemen admit all I ask. If these passions are awakened by the recurrence of the election here and produce an injurious effect on our legislation I must deprecate

them; they not only injure our constituents, but disgrace us—make us guilty, not of gross corruption, but of injustice.

The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Everett) carries his opinions still farther and tells us the house is not corrupt but incorruptible. I had hoped the house was not corrupt, but I can not dispute with the man who asserts it any more than I could with the man who denies his own existence. In support of his position that gentleman has made a proposal to my honorable friend from South Carolina. Let him make it to me. He says the thirty million claim for French spoliations is most righteous, and he would pile up millions in the area before the speaker's chair, and those who will support it with their votes might load themselves with it until they were unable to stagger away. Let it be suspected that he has the warrant to give this money, or that I am disposed to accept, and in that instant we are both infamous. Yes, sir; if the people should suspect, not believe, that the owners of this “righteous thirty million claim” offer ten millions for the votes of members; if the claim, however just, shall be allowed, nothing can ever wipe away the infamy of this house. The gentleman says he did but jest. I thought so, too; but the jest was the more cruel, as the facts, without which it proves nothing, had no existence. But, sir, if such a case should occur, it would destroy the house; no man, whether he received anything or not—no man, if it was only possible that it might have been taken, who should vote for the claim, would ever again hold a seat here after the next election, whatever might be his private worth.

But my honorable colleague (Mr. Storrs) finds other arguments to oppose these amendments. He says, “If the house is so corrupt why ask it to amend;” and he warns the house “not to record its own infamy” by adopting the amendments. When I heard this argument I thought it a ministerial story. Every man the least acquainted with British history must have read it in parlia-

mentary debates. There the member purchases his borough and the minister buys his members. When a reform is moved in parliament and it is declared that corruption stalks abroad, the creatures of the ministers—the gentlemen from the treasury bench—rise in their places, and looking around at their borough mongers here and there in every part of the house, inquire: “Will you admit your guilt?” Be cautious how you record your own infamy! Though corruption is admitted, reform is denied.—I hope that the morals of this house are not so corrupted as this species of argument supposes. If the house can be influenced by such an argument there is an end to all amendment in everything that relates to its powers, and an expression applied to another body should be applied here “the awful and once respected commons of Great Britain.” If the argument of my colleague has force in this house the amendments ought to be carried for that very reason, as it supposes corruption which it might be infamous to record. But his whole argument is out of the record. If the past conduct of the house, as I hope, has been innocent, the record leaves it so; and if there has been guilt the amendments record nothing. * * *

Another source of security pointed out by my colleague in his conscientious zeal to resist innovation is the responsibility of the member to his constituents. If the member is honest, makes no bargain and gives his vote according to conscience and duty, he must indeed return to his constituents and meet them. Though innocent, he may be censured and punished. If he makes his bargain, if he is corrupt, if he secures his reward; if he is guilty he enriches himself, pockets his reward and “retires infamous and contented.” Or he employs the patronage of his new situation, secured by his corruption to purchase friends and popularity, and realizes the character described by the poet:

“Man smiles in ruin, glories in his guilt, and
Infamy stands candidate for praise.”

(In view of the imputations at that time so rife of a corrupt bargain be-

tween the friends of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, charging that the former was chosen president by the house, the last clause seems to have been intended to picture the attitude of some of the president's supporters in the house at the late election. The final judgment of history does not confirm the “bargain and corruption” charge then pressed with great acrimony, but it was, no doubt, honestly entertained by most of the partisans opposed to the president and the secretary of state.)

Continuing, Mr. Hoffman said: “But, sir, the question is not whether the house was innocent or guilty in the last election, no accusation has been made (here) to raise such a question, and to deny or affirm either is entirely out of the question in dispute. That question can not be asked—it is vain to propose it. What could the house reply? Not its own innocence or its own guilt. It can not confess nor deny, either would excite public ridicule. The question is, what was the effect of the election on the character of the house? Did it injure the character of the house, not in the opinion of honorable gentlemen here, but in the esteem of the American people?”

Whenever, sir, it is seen that the election will in all probability come into the house, then everything that belongs to the election attaches to the character of the house. * * The character of the candidates, the cards, the labels, pamphlets, attacks—everything dignified or disgraceful, odious or contemptible, all that belongs to the election is deemed to be the creation of the house. The people judge of the election and the conduct of the house with less reserve, but not with less justice than the members judge themselves. We, perhaps, are a little too polite and kind towards each other to suspect dishonor or dishonesty. The people are more plain, nor are they entirely mistaken. They make allowances for circumstances, and they judge us with plain sincerity. While we count so largely on that side of their good sense which favors us, it may be well to read what is written on the other side. * * When they see that the election is

likely to come here, and that the house and its members do nothing to prevent it, they may think it desired, and everything good or evil in its progress is in some degree attached in their judgment to the character of the house. Was the last election conducted fairly? I hope so: and yet what reproaches, suspicions and abuses has every man been obliged, with pain, to hear. Will you have more respectable candidates? Who were they? The one a secretary of the treasury, another the secretary of state, another an honorable senator from the state of Tennessee, another speaker of the house. All these were in daily intercourse with the members of the house. How many opportunities for bargains, contracts, promises and understandings, and all constantly acted on by these reciprocations which influence affection, mould the will and incline the conduct of men. It will be with others as it was with you. Your presidential candidates will not be retired and private men, but public men, daily acting with you. The opportunities for corruption will exist. You must attribute the suspicions to the circumstances in which you are placed. You must change the circumstances; while these exist you never can change the opinions of men. I ask you to remember all the shoe-black and polish of character, all the ink and pamphlets of the late election, all the reports and rumors circulated to your injury. They were all considered a part of the election in congress. Whenever it is seen that the election will come here the members are considered as managers and the election as the business of this house. I am too much exhausted, but I had intended to draw from the minds of the people a true picture of the house, stamped there by the last election, of so many things strange, ridiculous and dangerous, and which had a most unhappy influence on the character of the house. * * You may allege that the people are mistaken. They will cling to their opinion of you, cling to this power, and rely upon it, sir, when the character of this house becomes odious and suspected in the minds of the people it will

not be long before it will deserve the bad character imputed to it. * * Whatever follows in the train of the elections; what of coalitions and intrigues will cling to the skirts of the house. Let us adopt these amendments and dispense with this unhappy blessing; a power which has injured, will disgrace and will corrupt the house. * *

No purity of private life, no past patriotic sacrifices, no future public success can wipe out the reproach. I care nothing about the kind judgments of gentlemen here. What will be the public judgment abroad—beyond these walls? Can I doubt from what I have heard that the same judgments will be repeated and declared. If a member accepts an appointment the executive seal will be a seal of infamy. If the executive appoints his friends he rewards—if his opponents he buys! Reverse this judgment who will, the people will establish it, will assert it, will maintain it while the election is withheld from them and brought hither. * * The only remedy is in practice, to take the election from congress. * *

Another argument, Mr. Chairman, which I feel it my duty to urge upon the consideration of the committee in favor of the amendments is, that the people desire to dispense with the electoral colleges, and in some way to give their vote direct for president and vice-president. Whatever may be the fate of any other amendment, whether any other shall or shall not be adopted, I assert that the people do desire to vote direct and to dispense with the electoral colleges. On all hands these colleges are admitted to be useless. No man has or can offer an argument for their continuance. All allow them to be perfectly useless, but all can not assert that they are perfectly harmless. Why, then, should they be retained as a useless part of the system? Why, then, oblige the public judgment to sue out a license to pass through the pipe of an electoral college? * *

But, whatever may have been the cause of the ruin of the Athenian and other republics, (after discussing the

views of other members on that subject,—ED.) it can have no just application to the American people, occupied as they are in all the concerns of civilized life, scattered over an immense territory, cultivating the soil, possessed of riches, busy with industry, blessed with intelligence. * * I have no fear of them. If any part of our government be pure, be incorruptible, I assert that it is the people. If any body of men be above suspicion and beyond the reach of corruption it is the voters in the respective states. No patronage can cover their numbers; no political industry can find or count them. There I wish to see the election go; there let the power be deposited. They are as incorruptible as anybody in this life can be; there it will be safe.

The gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Everett,) reminds us of the French electoral colleges. I do not see how they can be pressed into the argument to support the retaining of ours, and I thank him for the hint. Yes, sir; in France, if an election could in any way be disposed of directly by the people they would return deputies hostile to prerogative and favorable to liberty. To prevent this, to secure everything to the crown, electoral colleges are devised; the people can return no one; the candidates must pass through the electoral colleges. If the court fail to obtain their creature in the primary elections the patronage of the king can secure him in the electoral college; such is the practice. If we desire that ours should be employed to produce a like effect it may be an argument to retain them. I wish for that reason to destroy them.

Sir, I do say that the people desire to dispense with the colleges and to vote direct. Will we deny them their request? * * We are their trustees; the power we have they gave us in trust. The dignity, the intelligence, the moral character of the house is not ours, but a reflex of theirs: they are derived from the people. The 213 gentlemen who compose the house on a question of learning would not be the equal of some of our literary institutions; on a ques-

tion of trade would be weighed down by a chamber of commerce, and the mechanics of a city would certainly be much better authority on a question of arts. * * * Can we deny them this power if they judge it best to ask for it? Can we tell them that my friend from South Carolina will find them with this power and by his elquence seduce them to their own ruin? Shall we insult them by saying that political demagogues will rouse them to madness and riot—that they are intelligent and patriotic but can not be trusted?

But, gentlemen, declare that the people do not desire this change, and in proof of this assertion they say the several states can, but do not propose the call of a convention. I know they can, but ought they to do it? I ask whether it is wise or prudent when a great proportion of the people ask for any particular amendment to refuse it, until in one state for one reason, in another for another reason, in New York and Tennessee for this amendment, in Massachusetts to restrain your power as to militia officers, in the west for relief against your judicial executions, in other states for other purposes, until discontent shall invite two-thirds of the states in a common call for a convention to propose amendments to the constitution. Is it prudent to wait for such a call? When it does come you can not deliberate: you can not decide whether to grant or refuse it. You must register the decree, the call must be obeyed. When such a convention meets the whole constitution is afloat; every part of it may be amended. You can not restrain the power of the convention or tie up its hands to this or that part of the compact. The states' convention would laugh at such an effort to limit them. Do gentlemen desire such a convention? If they do let them refuse this and every other necessary amendment until evils shall reach and press hard upon two-thirds of the states—and they may yet live to hear the call! The evils, accumulated by our negligence and our obstinacy, will be great, and the call will be terrible. * *

For my constituents I affirm that they desire it (the direct vote.) In the state from which I came, making a seventh of the whole people of the United States, in the legislature, in the public proceedings, at the courts of justice, in all places I have heard their opinions on this question. Of the thousands whose judgments I have heard expressed I have never heard a single man express a desire to retain the colleges. In the district of my colleague (Mr. Storrs,) who opposes all amendments, I am acquainted, and know that his constituents and my own most ardently wish to vote direct for president. My colleagues are about me and can contradict me if I err. * *

Will, then, the friends of this new administration—chosen by congress, not by the people, in their colleges—will they refuse the universal wish of the people? If they do can they hope or expect to sustain the administration against the general judgment which must follow the refusal? To the gentleman who, from a sense of duty to the country oppose the administration, I put the question: Can you without patronage, without the power of conferring patronage and honor—if you by your votes oppose the just wishes of the people in this instance, can you oppose successfully this administration? It is only by the support you shall give to their judgments and their rights that success can be secured or deserved. To all I put the question: Shall it be said that the house of representatives have got the power to elect the president and they will keep it? By our vote on these amendments shall we place the will of this house against, and the judgment of the people for, the amendments?

Sir, do the people of the states require this amendment, and as a means to attain it, ask the system of districts equal in political power! I think they do; it can hardly be attained without the districts. * * Shall we refuse and tell them all that has been urged here against the vote by the people and the district system? What will they reply? We made you and can unmake you. We tell them they are patriotic, intelligent and worthy of confidence, but the vote by the people and the district system will injure state rights; what will they reply? "We are the states; their rights are ours, send the amendments to the states and we will judge then of our own rights." Yes, sir, let them judge what is fit, safe and proper for themselves. They know and will secure their rights, if they can once tear them from your grasp. Whatever excuse we may attempt to make for clinging, as power always will, to this power of electing a president, it will recoil upon us. The people will believe that we are partial, corrupt judges, who judge in their own favor. If we refuse they will justly charge us with the crime of withholding this power from those who gave it, and for no good purpose. They will look upon us, and justly, as unfaithful guardians who watch the property of their wards, to squander it, and illegally retain it in their hands to apply it to their own corrupt purposes, to pervert and abuse it. Let not this be said of us; let us surrender a power which will corrupt this house and give it to the people in their districts, where it will be safe forever.

LIFE, CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF JOHN JAY.

AN ADDRESS BY FRANK B. PARKHURST, OF FRANKFORT,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society March 10, 1896.

It is a mark of progress, as well as of stability, when a people investigate the causes which conduce to their well-being. It is not only essential that the historian should rescue important questions from obscurity, but that the masses should become mindful of those transactions wherein were gained rational liberty and nationality. It is true there are, and ever will be, new applications in our civil polity; but never could we solve the problems which confront us without the fundamental lessons. Familiarity with the causes which actuated the building of our political system is not only a duty, but should be a delight, to every American, for therefrom emanates the respect which is the foundation of good citizenship

With all our ingenuity, wealth and power, we should bear in mind society has been of slow growth, not of rapid creation, and that our security and happiness are involved more in precedence than we judge at first view; indeed research often prompts the student to exclaim: "Modern knowledge is but a development of the primal hints of the ancients!" He observes that these incidents and suggestions materially relate to his own condition; that they still inculcate vigilance, fortitude and justice. He learns that the way has been long

and toilsome; not once, but more than a score of times, during five reigns, was Magna Charta signed, perforce, ere that justly celebrated instrument was acknowledged by the crown. While our founders molded their design by a creative power of their own, "the materials for building the American Constitution were the gifts of the ages." Yes, we are required to live in the past as well as in the present, if we would treasure and transmit beneficial results to those who shall follow us; and he who cares naught for posterity lacks the sympathy requisite for good order and progress. So has history warned and encouraged the race, and, we have reason to hope, will lead mankind to a higher status by teaching, with redoubled emphasis, that wrong must ultimately yield, even in the citadels of ignorance and prejudice. With this in view the wise and benevolent establish institutions of learning, public libraries and historical societies.

If the sublime in man, as evinced in individual achievements for good, inspire gratitude and emulation, second to none among the ennobling examples in history and tradition are the benefactors who flourished during our Revolutionary epoch, and not least among the truly great of that time is the subject of this brochure. Here we must be content

with a glance at a character whose distinctive qualities become more interesting at each perusal.

We are prompted to revert for a moment to the closing scenes of the seventeenth century, upon the continent of Europe, as illustrative of Mr. Jay's origin and proclivities.

Louis the Great had fallen to Louis the tyrant and the voluptuary; his example spread like a contagion among those who surrounded the throne; there was a social relapse when the political methods of Machiavelli and visions of Boccaccio were perused with morbid avidity. The noble Colbert, the benefactor of his country, lay in the tomb; principles baneful and beneficial clashed angrily in the gilded salon, the mart and the coffee houses. Forgetting former achievements which gave renown to his name and unparalleled splendor to France, the monarch listened to pernicious counsels, revoked the edict of Nantes, and enfeebled his country with strife and confusion. Scourged on the one hand and licensed on the other the disturbing forces of his realm loomed in threatening array. The banners of disaffection flaunted in the by-ways of the capital; a condition bordering on chaos was the result of the royal mandate; his battalions began to waver and his glory fade before the advancing columns of the Alliance. The church, which had been allied to the crown to maintain order and preserve civilization during the feudal period, becoming alarmed at the course of events, sought exoneration from the king and attempted to reconcile the people. But in a state vibrating between despotism and anarchy, where ritualdty and minstrelsy frequently interrupted the sacred mass and personal malevolence was not checked by sympathy nor punished by law, the afflicted had no alternative but to deny conscience or abandon property, kindred and country.

In those days of sorrow, of fire and mutilation, there lived in the French city of Rochelle a prosperous Huguenot merchant, who had cultivated a taste for literature and politics as well as for

commerce. Foreseeing a crisis he sent his wife and children by sea to England. Suspicion was aroused, he was thrown into prison, from which he was extricated by the intercession of worthy opponents. Trusting that reconciliation would be effected he calmly but vigilantly awaited coming events. The revocation of October 22, 1685, dispelled hope, and Pierre Jay, the proscribed opulent trader, quickly decided to sacrifice the earnings of years rather than recant at the feet of tyranny. Employing a trusty pilot to watch and hold one of his own vessels at the mouth of the harbor he boarded her under cover of darkness and sailed for England, where he sold his valuable cargo, liberally paid captain and crew, and joined his family. Here, by frugality, they lived comfortably upon the wreck of his fortune.

The respect this thrifty merchant had for learning may be surmised from the fact that previous to his exile he sent his only son, Augustus, at the age of twelve, to an English university. The lad proved worthy of the paternal generosity, becoming noted for his erudition and enterprise. At the completion of his education he embarked for Africa, in his father's interest, and was there stationed at the escape of his family. Returning, he, too, was resolute in his convictions, and sailed for the Carolinas, the trysting-place of many French Huguenots. After various adventures upon sea and land, among which was his capture while on a voyage to Holland, and his being carried by a French privateer to the fortress of St. Maloes, whence he escaped to Denmark. He completed his business abroad and returned to New York, then, as now, the chief commercial city of the continent. Here he married the refined Miss Anna Bayard, who was also a descendant from those who had suffered religious persecution. Here settled the flourishing importer and his amiable spouse.

Resolute, tolerant, educated and enterprising, Augustus Jay soon took an important place among the influential citizens of the metropolis. Four children were the fruit of this union, the

fourth of whom was Peter, who, imbibing the spirit of his ancestors, advanced rapidly in wealth and position. He married Miss Mary Van Cortlandt, a lady of Batavian extraction and of remarkable talents and culture.

Such was his success in business that at the age of forty Peter Jay was able to retire with his wife and ten children to a country seat on Long Island, where his household devoted their time to the welfare of each other. The eighth child, born on the 12th of December, 1745, to this intelligent and devout couple, was the renowned John Jay, first Chief Justice or the Republic, Minister to Spain, France and England, and Governor of the state of New York.

The mother of this noted man was from an excellent family, who were among the early settlers of the New Netherlands. To her he attributed much of his early education and the instilling of those Christian principles into his mind which were exhibited throughout his career. At the knee of this excellent mother he learned the rudiments of English and Latin. When in his eighth year he was sent to a grammar school at New Rochelle, where he was subjected to many inconveniences and hardships among strangers, but even at this tender age his self-reliance and contented disposition supported him. In youth he was reserved, yet juvenile sports were not without attraction for him. Beneath his sedateness there were kindly qualities which drew the respect of his play-fellows. At this time he also learned from those with whom he mingled to speak French quite fluently, a matter of moment to him in after years.

At the age of eleven his father took him to the homestead and placed him under the care of a private tutor, who prepared him for Kings (now Columbia) college. He applied himself diligently to his studies and composition, devoting his leisure moments to literature and history. His deportment and application elicited esteem from his teachers. In his fourth collegiate year he decided upon law, and began reading Grotius. He graduated on the 15th of May, 1764, pro-

nouncing the Latin salutatory. Two weeks after he entered the office of Benjamin Kissam, in the city of New York. He was admitted to practice in 1768, and soon was possessed of a lucrative business.

At the age of twenty-nine Mr. Jay was united in matrimony to the accomplished Miss Sarah Livingston, whose family were distinguished for abilities and social position. This kind and polished woman was a fit consort for such a man. Whether in the domestic sphere or amid the brilliancy of foreign courts, she was an ornament to her country and a solace to her honored husband. This alliance, together with his descent from the two races predominant in the city, had no little influence in bringing him, at a very early period, before the public. But his well equipped mind and natural tendencies prepared him to lead, even amid that galaxy of men.

He now took a deep interest in public affairs, and was an open opponent of British misrule. As a citizen of New York he was appointed to formulate an answer to the people of Boston with regard to the passage of the port bill. He was the first to suggest therein that the provinces appoint deputies to a general congress, a proposition that met universal approval. He was delegated as one of the five from the colony of New York, and soon departed to take a seat in that body, of whom Lord Chatham said: "In solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion it has never been surpassed."

Though the youngest member but one of the first congress (being thirty years of age,) his reputation had gone before, and he was immediately placed upon the committee to draft an address to the people of Great Britain. This effort was the most complete version of the case, prior to Jefferson's immortal document, given to the world. Its sentences ring with logic and tremble with emotion. Said Jefferson, "It is the production of the finest pen in America!"

He supported in this congress in strong terms the non-importation act; although declared at the time by many patriots in

the seaport towns to be an impolitic measure, we discern the utility of the sacrifice, for it unveiled the motives of the ministry, gaining in time and knowledge with the masses more than it lost in money and goods. After a six weeks' session these busy patriots made provision for the meeting of another congress in the following May, 1775, and adjourned.

The edict against the importation of English materials gave an opportunity to the tories of the city of New York to declaim against what they termed the assumption of power by a congress elected for advisory purposes only. But the constituents of Mr. Jay were alert; a colonial legislature was elected and the disaffected excluded. This clear and vigorous young statesman, after arriving in his native city, was constantly in requisition in conducting correspondence and preparing reports, till he was again elected a delegate to the second congress, which assembled May 10th. Concord and Lexington had been fought and won by the patriot farmers. With many leading spirits he still hoped for redress by legislation; but the second petition to King and Parliament, like the first, met with insults and indignities. Congress, however, had not neglected means of resistance. The public mind was in a ferment; the people were in arms!

The storm that had threatened on the political horizon began to drift rapidly toward the zenith. But the increasing gloom did not dismay John Jay. True to his convictions and lineal tendencies he voted against further mediation. When truth no longer lay hidden in conjecture he was among the first to defy the ministry and call for separation. Up to this moment the obtuse George had no more loyal subject in America than he, and had that arrogant sovereign exhibited the spirit of the great Frederic when he thundered to his favorite, "He deserves to rule most who best serves as a support of the laws and for righteousness, the bravest to defend and wisest to avoid tyranny and war," Jay and his coadjutors might have compromised with the crown, but the king

remained strangely deaf to the prayers of his people. The spirit of liberty was now rife in the colonies, and they entered a contest which might be disastrous to them but would redound to the ultimate elevation of mankind; herein rests the glory of their action. In the face of force and flattery they would not yield, nor

"Crook the pregnant hinges of the knee."

Mr. Jay was elected a representative from the city and county of New York to the provincial convention in April, 1776. On receiving the summons he left Philadelphia for home, where the convention was in session. At his suggestion resolutions were adopted calling upon the people to elect delegates to a convention with the express power to establish a form of colonial government. This man of acumen and resources, who had assisted in the national councils hurried at the call of his fellow citizens to organize his colony against the attack of Lord Howe without and his abettors within. It was fitting his seat in the Continental Congress should be vacant till the great commoner gave his attention to the reorganization of his commonwealth. At White Plains, amid these duties, he received the news of the adoption of the Declaration. He immediately reported resolutions affirming the independence of the states and pledging the support of New York in the struggle. Thus he was denied the privilege of signing the famous document.

The defeat of our forces on Long Island and permitted invasion of the city, and the provincial convention was prevented from preparing a form of government. A committee was appointed for this purpose, Mr. Jay being selected as chairman, and the task of preparing a state constitution assigned to him. Misfortune attended our arms. There being no executive authority in the colony a committee of safety was named "for inquiring into and defeating all conspiracies against the liberties of America." Mr. Jay was also made chairman of this committee, and did important service in counteracting the efforts of the invaders

and their tory friends. It was he who devised at this time the transfer of arms and munitions to West Point from New England. He seems to have been suspicious of the invasion from the north. This committee was distributed over the state. General Nicholas Herkimer, having been selected in this vicinity, his subsequent conduct at Oriskany, which contributed so much to our success at Bemis Heights, proves the wisdom of the convention in trusting to his sagacity and patriotism.

Words cannot express the despondency at this period. While the war cloud hung like a vast pall over his country, Jay encouraged hope and stimulated action. No toil, however hazardous or exhausting, did he evade in the support of the cause; without fear he applied the pen inspired with devotion. If during the struggle he did not seek redress nor fame upon the tented field, though the bent of his mind was not in that direction, he possessed a brave heart as well as a contemplative mind. Cheerfully did he assume dangers and responsibilities which enrolled his name high upon the list for British persecution. Yes, there was peril then in the council chamber as well as in the glare of battle. In his address to the provincial congress, adopted on the 23d of December, 1776, we find these eloquent words: "Rouse, brave citizens! Do your duty like men, and be persuaded that Divine Providence will not permit this western world to be involved in the horrors of slavery. Consider that from the earliest ages of the world, religion, liberty, and reason have been bending their course toward the setting sun. The holy gospels are yet to be preached to these western regions, and we have the highest reasons to believe that the Almighty will not suffer slavery and the gospel to go hand in hand. It can not, It will not be!"

The state government could not be established until the spring of 1777. The constitution prepared by him was reported on the 12th of March. Upon deliberation he wished and expected the opportunity to engraft new features and

add amendments, but while at the bedside of his dying mother the instrument was prematurely adopted, much to his regret. This convention, before adjourning, appointed temporarily the high officers of the state, ministerial and judicial. Mr. Jay was unanimously selected for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was also appointed one of the council of safety to administer affairs till governor and legislature were elected.

We learn that his first charge to the grand jury at Kingston, in that hour of gloom, was replete with patriotism and sanguine of success. Such was the call for the talents of this man that in 1778 he was elected a special delegate to the Continental Congress without vacating his judicial office, and on the resignation of Henry Laurens was immediately chosen to preside over that body. This was then the highest office in the gift of the Confederation. He soon, however, resigned the State Chief Justiceship, as incompatible with his position as chairman, and applied himself to his duties in Congress, which, owing to the disturbed condition of the country, was in constant session. He was now appointed to the honor of preparing a circular letter to the colonies, urging vigorous action. Again he stimulated zeal, and gave another strong and brilliant paper to history.

Congress, being urged by the French minister to take measures for securing the object contemplated by the secret articles of treaty with France and Spain in 1778, Mr. Jay was importuned to accept the important mission to the Spanish court. He sailed on October the 18th and after barely escaping shipwreck and capture by British men-of-war, on the 22d of January, 1780, himself, wife and private secretary arrived at Cadiz.

This mission was largely, on the part of Congress, of a financial character. Our treasury was depleted; munitions of war were greatly needed in the struggling colonies. The wily Spaniard, tenacious of his grasp upon the southwestern territory, thought by keeping Jay in abeyance for many months he

could better effect his purpose. Taking advantage of our indebtedness to his country he at last dropped the mask and demanded the right of sole navigation of the Mississippi river before making a farther loan. This our envoy peremptorily refused, and the minister, anxious not to close the negotiations wholly, offered to loan \$150,000 for three years, if Mr. Jay could give security. This he failed to do, and took in person the hazard of assuming the debt already accrued, rather than jeopardize the credit of his country. Here the negotiations were suspended.

Mr. Jay was now appointed envoy extraordinary in conjunction with Franklin, Jefferson, Adams and Laurens to conclude peace with Great Britain. He therefore joined Franklin at Paris. Upon his arrival he was confident he saw on the part of France an inclination to subordinate the young republic to French interests in the settlement with England.

Laurens was imprisoned in the tower of London. Adams was in Holland negotiating a loan. Jefferson was detained in America, and Franklin was prostrated by sickness. He determined to act upon his own responsibility, for no delay was admissible. He would enter into no alliance that would compromise the independence of the United States. That was the first object of his mission. By adroit action he learned the views of the British Ministry. Favors he would grant for the advance of humanity and the extension of commerce, but not to sully the honor of his victorious country. He calmly and firmly met the artful Count de Vergennes and dextrous Oswald. Spain, which had held aloof, began to relent, fearful of losing an opportunity, and offered to reopen negotiations. The problem of the navigation of the Mississippi was solved by tidings from Congress instructing the commissioners to agree to abstain from traversing that stream beyond our territory, and the \$150,000 loan was perfected with the court of Madrid, releasing Mr. Jay from his personal obligation, which, with his onerous duties, had weighed

heavily upon him. The treaty of peace was promulgated in due time, Congress ratifying it in January, 1784.

With enfeebled health the subject of our sketch landed at New York in July of that year. He was met by an enthusiastic reception. He had contemplated retiring from public life at the close of the war, but found he had been elected by Congress to the office of Secretary of Foreign affairs.

In this position he was brought into contact with the defects in the Articles of Confederation, and advocated the formation of a stronger government, which he considered imperative for the welfare of the people of America. Therefore he watched with deep interest the action of the convention at Philadelphia in 1787. The Constitution emanating therefrom met his hearty approval. In addition to his lucid correspondence and oral advice on the subject he published an able address upon adoption, and contributed valuable articles to the press. He was a member of the New York convention on adoption, and offered the resolutions for ratification. He also drafted the circular letter to the states, urging the adoption of the amendments proposed by New York.

The confidence reposed in his abilities and judgment prompted Washington, after the organization of the federal government, to tender to him any office within his gift. He accepted the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court. We are reminded that at the request of the President he officiated as Secretary of State until the arrival of Mr. Jefferson. True to the sanctity of the bench, he abstained from all political controversies. Without solicitation he was nominated for governor in February, 1792. He reluctantly yielded to his friends. George Clinton regarded as the most popular man in the opposition, was his competitor. Owing to the rejection of Tioga, Clinton and Otsego counties Mr. Clinton was installed. Great excitement followed. Mr. Jay was calm, and did much to allay a con-

fusion which seemed to approach anarchy.

After our proclamation of neutrality the mother country, still chafing at the loss of the colonies, showed increased enmity by her unjust course toward our commerce. These complications were aggravated by her war with France. Mr. Jay was now chosen special envoy to the court of St. James, to remonstrate with that government against the violations of the treaty of 1783, which he had so largely assisted in making. The critical task of our minister when closeted with Lord Grenville is known to every student of history. He who studies the perplexing questions at issue and the temper of the three nations at that time realizes the advantages attained by Jay in that treaty. Still, owing to the feeling which had been engendered by the wild schemes of the French agent, Genet, there was much objection to its reception. After a protracted and heated discussion, in and out of Congress, it was ratified, relieving Washington of much anxiety. It obviated immediate hostilities with England for which we were not prepared; it delayed a military campaign necessary to establish our complete sovereignty, when we could and did give the finishing blow to English usurpation of American rights upon the high seas. Mr. Sparks justly said of that treaty: "Time disappointed its enemies and more than fulfilled the expectations of its friends."

On his return from abroad he found he had been elected governor by a large majority over Robert Yates. On the 1st of July, 1795, he took the oath of office. He must have assumed with pride the executive office of his native state whose constitution he had framed and whose interests lay so near his heart. Upon her soil his ancestors had found an asylum for refugees from foreign persecution. At home and from afar he had watched with an attentive eye the development of this people. His foresight and sense of duty as an executive gave an impetus to our municipal affairs and inaugurated precedents of inestimable

value to the union. Then it was his richly endowed mind conferred lasting benefits upon this commonwealth. Amendments of the criminal code, the erection and maintenance of prisons and charitable institutions, employment and reformation of criminals, encouragement of commerce, learning and art, and manumission and education of slaves within the state, were among the multifarious subjects which engaged his attention, and many of which he saw materialized during his first term.

In spite of a formidable opposition, and his wish to retire, he was re-elected governor over Robert R. Livingston in April, 1798. Internal dissensions were soon forgotten in the expectation of war with France. He called a session of the legislature, before which, with his old-time vigor, he asked for the passage of measures to defend the state. A large sum was appropriated and placed subject to his use in co-operation with the federal government. But the preparations for the French invasion were of short duration. The "man of destiny" who now appeared in French politics mediated a different scheme than that of meddling with the new republic of the west. When the predictions of war in America were silenced by the guns of Aboukir and Marengo, even then bitterness was aroused by false rumors of foreign machinations.

In the election of April, 1800, a majority of republicans were returned to the legislature. The term of the old law-making body did not expire until July 1st. It was rumored that a proposition had been made by those high in authority to Governor Jay to call the old legislature together before July 1st for the purpose of changing the law so as to permit a choice of electors who would select a federalist for president. Party feeling again ran high and seemed about to disrupt the state. But wisdom did not forsake him in the state house. With him the legal expression of the majority was paramount to party and personal considerations. With the dignity of a Roman pretor he wrapped

himself in his conscience and remained silent.

The reactionary forces in our politics are studied with profit. They are side-lights revealing much that is interesting. The election of 1804 resulted in a political anomaly—strengthened Mr. Jefferson, while it defeated his party in the state of New York. Aaron Burr, highly educated, intriguing and extremely ambitious, failed to accomplish schemes detrimental to the policy of his great leader, and permitted disappointment to merge into hatred after his defeat for president, hatred particularly toward Hamilton, while he had no affinity for the calm majesty and pure character of Jay, who, with Washington and others, distrusted his motives. Jefferson, when writing to his compeer, Madison, uses these words: "I have always considered Burr as a crooked gun, whose shot you could never be sure of." Hamilton and his friends had persuaded their faction to support Jefferson in the House of Representatives as the best qualified for chief executive of the nation. This, with the defeat in the gubernatorial canvass, so exasperated Burr that he became vindictive, abandoned reason and provoked the great federalist to a personal encounter on the field of honor—so called, but denounced by civilization—and slew at the first fire this remarkable man, who, at thirty years of age, excepting Madison and Jay, did more to build and teach the new system than any man. Say what we may of their idiosyncracies, differ as we will with their political plans, their efforts will remain to teach, warn and edify. They are the revelations of genius after profound meditations. We may charge scepticism to one and credulity to the other, but the impartial student, knowing the weaknesses and temptations, as well as the excellencies of mankind, marvels at the works of these masters of political science, which works exhibit shades of opinion but no lack of patriotic devotion.

At the close of Mr. Jay's second gubernatorial term no persuasion could

prevail upon him to remain in public life, not even the tender of the Chief Justiceship of the Federal Supreme Court. It was fitting that he close his arduous and honorable public career as Governor of the Empire State, which he loved so well. Here he found the quiet and repose he coveted and had so justly earned. His example while governor is worthy of close attention. While he considered the executive office a public trust in its broadest sense, he stood firmly upon his privilege as guaranteed by the Constitution, and took pride in right administration, often relying, in the light of duty, upon the reaction of public sentiment for exoneration and indorsement.

Scarcely had he established himself amidst his family, upon his estate at Bedford, Westchester county, when he lost the devoted wife who had stood by his side through the years of vicissitudes and joys, a kind and intelligent companion. Severe as was this blow to him he bore it with his characteristic resignation. Supervising the duties upon his farm and performing deeds of benevolence he passed a serene old age, still reflecting upon the lessons of the Master and the moral tenets of Cicero. Many a pilgrimage, by those in and out of power, was made to the sage who had assisted in erecting the Republic and embellishing our annals with his fund of learning and wisdom. Here, on the 17th of May, 1829, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, solaced by the knowledge of duties well performed, and surrounded by his loving children, he passed peacefully into immortality.

Exigencies and new applications there will be, as we asserted at the outset; but when perusing the formative period of our state and national government we may gain strength and wisdom by directing our gaze toward him who is the subject of this deliberation. His life requires no embellishments; his conduct has withstood the scrutiny of the historian and biographer.

In stature he was nearly six feet; in manners deliberate and courteous. His portrait looks upon us with clear-cut,

regular features, exhibiting keen susceptibilities, yet grave, circumspect and truthful; a character partaking of the reflective Batavian, enlivened with a Gallic strain, a personality withal balanced and enduring.

He was a consistent member of the Episcopal church, an avowed federalist, but not of the radical school; ever ready to express his views upon public affairs, unless bound by secrecy for the good of his country. A mind so well calculated to weigh the abstruse questions of jurisprudence and history received respectful attention in politics. He was slow in his deductions and firm in his decisions. He respected the motives of those who differed from him; outward forms had no allurements; whether in or out of office he was the same unassuming citizen, charitable to his fellow men, sympathizing with their misfortunes and encouraging their capabilities; a faithful husband and friend, and an affectionate and firm father.

Liberated from the cant and preju-

dice of his day, every enlightened citizen is impelled to admire the character and deeds of John Jay, who seemed endowed by Providence to fill the onerous stations to which he was assigned from his entry into public life to the Chief Justiceship. His research, grasp of intellect, and long and faithful service, well prepared him for this exalted position. Never did a magistrate deserve the plaudits of his countrymen more than he who wore the ermine with an honor that gave dignity to our highest tribunal, shedding lustre upon the American name and winning praise from posterity.

Again we are admonished that the philosophy of our history is best known by those who study the motives and acts of the individuals who, with untiring zeal, through sacrifices and trials, propagated and maintained this superlative government, and in honoring such characters, principles and deeds we will not falter, whether the crisis be within or without!

THE FIRST SETTLERS OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

AN ADDRESS BY MRS. MARY SHEPARD WARREN, OF ILION,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, June 9, 1896.

It will not be possible to give more than a brief summary of the history of the early German settlers of the Valley of the Mohawk prior to their coming to America; yet their story would be shorn of much of its interest if it were omitted altogether. Nor can it be told without some reference to the causes which led these people to seek an asylum so remote from their native land.

The map of Europe, as it was given in the seventeenth century, gives a division of Germany which was called the Lower Palatinate, or Rhinepfalz. This must not be confounded with the Upper Palatinate which was located north of the one with which we are concerned. Within the limits of the Lower Palatinate were contained the cities of Mannheim, Heidelberg, Spire, and Worms. This district contained several thousand square miles of rich land—none fairer or more fertile could be found in all Europe. It was situated chiefly in the valley of the Rhine, that region so justly famed for its beauty and luxuriance.

During the latter half of the seventeenth century the Lower Palatinate belonged wholly to Germany, although that country and France had for years contested the possession of this desirable strip of country, owing to its being the dividing territory between them.

As the two countries were almost con-

stantly at war with each other, the half million inhabitants of the Palatinate seldom enjoyed an interval of peace. The epoch from which may be traced the causes which drove the Palatines, as they were called, from their homes in the Rhine valley to seek refuge in the remote Province of New York, may be said to have been the outbreak of the Reformation. The continental wars from that time up to the last of the seventeenth century were in reality religious wars, particularly those which were waged so furiously by Louis XIV. of France. Time after time the Palatinate, owing to its unprotected situation, was overrun by imperial armies, and each time it was mercilessly devastated. Obeying the orders of Louvois, Louis XIV's cruel war minister, Turenne, the famous French general, carried out the instructions with such fidelity that both banks of the Rhine in the Palatinate district were absolutely denuded of everything. The unhappy inhabitants were shown no mercy. Men, women, and children were driven forth, many having been stripped of their clothing, to wander helplessly about without food or shelter. It was in December and the ground was covered with snow, and many died from exposure. Their homes were first pillaged and then burned by the rapacious mob. The Elector, it is said, beheld from his window two cities

and twenty-five towns in flames at one time. One writer, in describing the excesses of the French army upon this occasion, says: "Lust and revenge walked hand in hand with fire and sword." But what followed in a later invasion by the French was yet more terrible. The fanatical Louvois this time commanded that a desert should be created between the kingdoms of France and Germany. Having recovered somewhat from previous calamities, the various districts of the Palatinate were blooming and rich with promise of abundant harvest. But this did not stay the wild troops who carried on their ruthless destruction until this fair land became one of desolation. It had been so repeatedly and irreparably "wasted" that when peace, so tardy in coming, was declared in the year 1697, there was nothing left in the fatherland for these war-afflicted people. They were homeless; they were destitute: their past was full of suffering; their present was full of wretchedness, and their future, if they remained where they were, was full of uncertainty. Confronted by every imaginable discouragement, what wonder, then, that these unhappy people resolved to leave their native country to seek refuge in some far-off land where they could be safe from the unutterable miseries of war.

Above all, they wished to establish homes where they, and their children after them, could enjoy perfect freedom of opinion. Hearing of the desperate straits to which they were reduced, England, ever helpful of the oppressed, extended a friendly hand to the unfortunate Palatines and bade them welcome to her hospitable shores.

The proffered aid was gratefully accepted, and a company of these people, forty in number, went over to England and were transported to the province of New York through the assistance of the board of trade. This so encouraged those left behind, that there was soon such an extraordinary migration from the Lower Palatinate to England that it became a serious embarrassment to the authorities to care for the thirteen thousand destitute people who were so sud-

denly thrust within their borders. They were, however, provided for at public expense by this friendly nation, and were finally all sent to the various English colonies, with the exception of three thousand, who still remained to be disposed of. Steps were immediately taken to transfer them to the Province of New York where they were expected to engage in the manufacture of naval stores, through which industry they hoped to reimburse the friendly government which had stood by them in their extremity.

After a wearisome voyage, during which time nearly one-half their number died, the "distressed Palatines" (as they were called in the documents relating to them) arrived in New York in a pitiable condition. Their only possessions when they reached their "promised land" were the clothes which they wore; and what rendered them yet more helpless was their ignorance of the English language.

They arrived in the year 1710. They were immediately placed on barren pine lands just where the present town of Germantown stands. Here they were to employ themselves in the production of pitch and tar for the use of the English navy. Their condition now became little better than that of serfs. They were unable to live up to the terms of their contract and finally the colonial government withdrew its support. Their miseries multiplied until they were almost desperate. The result was that they determined to free themselves from this serfdom. Accordingly they decided to go to Schoharie and take up lands from the Indians.

It was late in the fall of 1712 and very cold when they started on their weary pilgrimage. Simms, in his "History of the Frontiersmen of New York," tells of the sufferings of the unfortunate Palatines as they made their toilsome journey on foot over rough Indian trails. Although the winter was close at hand the people were scantily clad, and set forth on their sad way without provisions. One writer makes particular mention of the cries and lamentations of the women and children as they started on their wearisome way. When they arrived 201

Schoharie they had no food. They were therefore reduced, Simms tells his readers, to the hard necessity of seeking relief from the Indians, and, be it recorded to the everlasting honor of the red men, the appeal was not made in vain.

The settlement they formed in Schoharie was a disappointment, for difficulties about the titles of their lands arose, and such were their discouragements they again determined, or at least many of them, to seek homes elsewhere. A number of them decided, if possible, to remove to the Mohawk Valley, although it was then an unbroken wilderness.

Accordingly about one hundred of their number applied to Governor Burnet for a patent which would allow them to occupy the "Mohawk lands," as the territory was then called which is now occupied by the towns of Herkimer and German Flatts. The original intention of the English had been to plant the Palatine colony on this exposed frontier "to serve as a barrier against the Indians," but they failed to accomplish their heartless plan.

The Palatines having heard of the rich alluvial lands along the Mohawk river, wished to obtain them in order that they might peacefully pursue their calling, which was that of husbandmen. Governor Burnet, who was kindly disposed toward these unhappy Germans, acceded to their request and purchased from the Indians between nine and ten thousand acres of land. The natives, tempted by such trifles as beads, a few yards of bright calico, tobacco, and rum, were very readily induced to exchange vast tracts of their valuable lands for these worthless baubles. The lands thus obtained were later transferred to the Palatines by the crown commissioners.

To this unbroken wilderness, whose solitude had seldom been penetrated by the white man—save, perhaps, by a lonely missionary, or, possibly, by some enterprising trapper—came its first Caucasian inhabitants.

The sturdy Palatines were in reality driven thither by persecution for opinion's sake—just as the hardy pilgrims were forced to seek refuge in New Eng-

land for a like cause one hundred years before.

It is a touching record which tells how these unhappy people journeyed to this solitary region which was to be their home. With stout hearts, pushing through thickly matted underbrush, they made their way along the bank of the Mohawk river. The women, not less sturdy than the men, carried heavy burdens on their backs and heads, sheltering at the same time helpless infants in their arms, while beside them, clinging to their skirts, young children stumbled along the rough way. What few heavier articles they possessed were piled upon clumsy bateaux which had been rudely hollowed out of trunks of trees. These the men laboriously poled against the current of the river and dragged over the portages. Thus they plodded on with patience that was little less than sublime, halting when night overtook them to camp by the river side, where they rested beside bright fires which they kept burning for the double purpose of warmth and to frighten away the wild animals which at that time infested the valley. At daybreak they gathered up their few possessions and resumed their fatiguing march. This was at last accomplished, and, footsore and weary, they reached the place which was to yield them home and sustenance.

The task before them was enough to make the stoutest heart quail. There was no shelter for the helpless group of women and children save the blue canopy of heaven—at least not until rude abodes of logs could be constructed. It took time to accomplish this as the trees had first to be felled and their trunks squared before even the walls of the dwellings could be raised. This accomplished, there were still roofs lacking. In order to obtain straw for thatching the grain must needs be planted, grown, harvested, and threshed. Thus these people were practically without shelter for several months.

It was through overcoming such almost insurmountable obstacles that the beginnings of the first settlement of this now thickly populated valley were made.

We of the present day realize but dimly what our forefathers had to conquer when they came to plant their homes in this then almost unexplored region. At all events, "they builded better than they knew," and the present generation is enjoying the results of their self-sacrifice and labor.

The Palatines reached the Mohawk Valley in the spring of 1723, but the patent of the lands was not issued until two years after, April 30, 1725. This was called the Burnetsfield patent, and it included lands on both sides of the Mohawk river. It set apart one hundred acres to each person—man, woman, and child—of the little company of ninety-two people. The terms of the purchase were most favorable to the colonists, being simply an annual quit-rent of two shillings and sixpence and a guarantee that within three years six out of every one hundred acres of land should be brought under cultivation.

The lots were surveyed in narrow strips leading back on either side of the river to the wooded hills beyond. To each person was allotted thirty acres of the rich alluvial lands near the river, together with seventy acres of the uplands.

The era of hope which now dawned upon these brave souls was the beginning of many years of undisturbed peace and constantly increasing prosperity.

The nucleus of this first settlement of the Mohawk Valley was on the south side of the river at the point now known as Fort Herkimer. Here gathered a sturdy group of brave pioneers, at whose head stood Johann Herkimer, from whose patriot son our county has inherited its honored name.

In the division of the land that portion known in the original patent as lot 36 fell to the share of Johann Jost Herkimer who was to be the leading spirit of this particular hamlet. This lot was just east of where the venerable old stone church now stands. A few years later, after his prosperity had become assured, Herkimer built a substantial stone house west of the church, the precise location of which was directly opposite the small island in the Mohawk river now called

Herkimer Island. At the beginning of the French and Indian war, when the settlers were in constant danger from marauding savages, it was deemed prudent to protect it by earthworks, and to further fortify it by a palisade of logs.

From this time on it was used as a fort and was resorted to by the inhabitants of the surrounding country as a place of refuge and defense. It is described as a three story stone house with port-holes at each story. This building, although of such precious historical interest, was unhappily sacrificed to accommodate either the construction or later enlargement of the Erie canal. This was an unnecessary piece of vandalism, as the survey might have been made without disturbing this interesting and sacred landmark. But with unaccountable indifference the state authorities allowed its demolition, quieting the protests which were raised against the act by promising to preserve the remembrance of the spot by marking it with a suitable monument. Seventy years have rolled by and the unmarked site of so many hallowed historical memories bears silent witness to the unfulfilled pledge. Would it not be eminently fitting for the Herkimer County Historical Society to engage itself in the work of rescuing this spot from the oblivion into which it has been allowed to fall, by marking with an appropriate memorial this place so fraught with historical memories?—one of which is of extreme interest, although not generally known. It was here before this fort* that the first liberty-pole ever raised in this state was placed—only to be pulled down by British authority. In recognition, then, of the importance of its part in two dark and bloody struggles, let a visible sign soon be placed on this ground

* Although it is recorded in the early histories of Herkimer County that the first liberty pole erected in the State of New York was at Fort Herkimer, it has been found that this is an erroneous statement. We are indebted to Judge Earl for having unearthed the truth in this matter, for, after careful investigation, he found that there were at least *five* liberty poles erected in the city of New York before the one at Fort Herkimer was raised.

which shall bear witness that this generation, at least, realizes what great service was here rendered to our defenceless ancestors who had the courage to plant their homes in the face of enormous dangers on this then distant and unprotected frontier.

On the north side of the river gathered another little band of Palatines who selected for their settlement the site where the present village of Herkimer stands. This place was first called Stone Ridge, then Palatine Dorf, and finally Burnetsfield, in honor of Governor Burnet. It was also at a later date called German Flatts, and it was the intention of those having the matter in charge, when the names of the new towns were handed to the legislature that it should continue "German Flatts," but owing to some confusion it was called Herkimer, and the opposite side of the river was given the name of German Flatts.

The dominating spirit among the Burnetsfield families was Johann Jost Petri, who was a natural leader by right of ability and education. His wife was a woman of culture and refinement. Lot No. 8 was assigned to him and was the one on which now stands the paper mill. There is to-day an old well in Herkimer that was dug over one hundred and sixty-five years ago. This furnished water not only for the Petri family but supplied it to the fort through two wars. It is located just north of the present court-house.

There was, at that early day, no regular settlement where Ilion now stands, although at long intervals there were scattered lonely isolated dwellings. The lands at this point were parcelled off to persons by the names of Rickert, Schmidt, Speir, Reece, and Weber. In the Burnetsfield patent appears the name of Volz (Folts) and to this patentee was assigned lot No. 3 which designated a parcel of land which now lies in East Frankfort. It was left, therefore, to the Volz family to live in the most remote and unprotected location within the Burnetsfield grant. It is an interesting fact that this land has been occupied by descend-

ants of this family from that time (1723) to the present day.

What is now known as the Spencer farm, at the west side of the Mohawk, was the land which fell to the share of Rudolph Schumacher. This particular locality has a history which is interesting because it was through a little ravine just west of the Spencer house, that Brant conducted his murderous band of Tories and Indians when he came to attack the unprotected settlers on the south side of the river west of Fort Herkimer, that locality now occupied by the villages of Mohawk and Ilion. The houses were at a considerable distance from each other, but such timely warning was given the people they were able to reach Fort Herkimer in safety. They saved themselves, but their crops, their cattle, and their buildings were left to the mercy of their foes. These disappointed of their prey, sated their thirst for vengeance by applying the torch to houses, barns, and stacks of hay and grain. The cattle were driven away by the Indians. William L. Stone, in speaking of this event, says: "Just as the day was breaking in the east, the fires were kindled, and the whole section of the valley was speedily illuminated by the flames of houses and barns, and all else combustible."

The spectacle to the people in the fort was one of melancholy grandeur. Every family saw the flames and smoke of its own domicile ascending to the skies, and every farmer, the whole product of his labor for the season dissolving into ashes." Mr. James Dygert tells of this occurrence as follows: "My grandmother, Mrs. Catharine Myers, was at this time a girl of ten years and a resident of this place. Many times when I was a boy she related to me the appearance of the courageous scout when he gave the alarm. His clothing was torn to tatters, his eyes were bloodshot, his hands, feet, and limbs were lacerated and bleeding from the effects of the brambles and bushes through which he had forced his headlong flight. He halted long enough to shout, 'Flee for your lives! the enemy are not an hour behind!' and hurried to the next house.

There are many descendants today in the Mohawk valley of those who were saved from midnight massacre by the undaunted courage and superhuman endurance of John Adam Helmer."

An interesting relic of this memorable event is in the possession of Mrs. Catharine Johnson of Mohawk, a granddaughter of the Mrs. Catharine Myers just referred to. It is an old German Bible bound in leather, with the corners of the cover protected by metal. The history of this venerable book is thrilling. It belonged to a Palatine ancestor of Mrs. Johnson. During a religious persecution in Germany it was buried in order to save it from destruction. Later it was brought by the family to the Mohawk Valley as a most precious possession. When warned by John Adam Helmer that Brant was about to fall upon them, the family hastily buried the sacred volume, with a few other valuables, and fled to the fort. Tradition say that the tree, under which it was concealed, stood near the place where the dwelling of the late Mr. John A. Rasbach now stands.

When the Palatines came to settle in the upper valley, seven families left their fellows and hewed, as it were, their way through the dense forest to that part of Herkimer county called Warren. Here they felled trees from a small area of land and planted their humble homes and shut in on all sides by the primeval forest, nine miles away from the nearest white settlers, these brave people subsisted undisturbed for many years. But during the revolutionary war, which was such a scourge to all parts of the country, these defenceless pioneers were attacked by a band of Indians and part of their number savagely butchered. The survivors were taken prisoners with the exception of three families by the names of Crim, Hoyer, and Osterhout. These escaped and made their way on foot through the forest to Fort Herkimer. Anna Osterhout, the grandmother of Mrs. Alfred E. Brooks of Ilion, was one of the number. She was a child of tender years at the time, but nevertheless, walked with the

rest of the terrified company to the fort nine miles away.

From an early history of Herkimer county we learn that the early German settlers of the Mohawk Valley possessed many sterling qualities of character, being honest, thrifty and industrious. With such characteristics they naturally began to accumulate property, and at once entered upon a career of prosperity to which they had long been strangers. The women were equally industrious with the men, and, beside caring for their families, which were large, they assisted in the farm work. They raised the flax, then pulled, broke, hetchelled, and spun it. By them the sheep were sheared, the wool picked, carded, and spun. They wove the cloth with which to clothe their families. The numerous children of a family, ruddy and strong, were quite content with their simple fare of supawn (a kind of hasty pudding) which they ate with wooden spoons from a common trencher. Contentment and happiness were theirs for there were no distinctions of caste among them to create jealousy and unhappiness. They adhered closely to the ways and traditions of their fatherland both in manner of performing labor and in their social and religious customs. They spoke their native language and worshipped according to the Lutheran faith. Christmas was a season of great rejoicing among them. They allowed no work on that day, and, after hearing prayers, gave themselves up to eating, drinking, and making merry. They were strictly honorable in all business dealings. It is recorded of them that such a thing as a promissory note was unknown among them. Their word was their bond. They were a superstitious people and held to some very curious customs in regard to funerals, which no one attended unless especially invited. After the burial it was customary to return to the house where intoxicants were partaken of very freely.

Cakes, too, were passed around in large baskets so that, with the eating and drinking, the occasion assumed a very festive character. Simms is responsi-

ble for the statement that it was no uncommon thing for people at that early day, to go home from a funeral the worse from their potatoes.

Many of the names of these German pioneers have undergone curious changes. Their descendants would now hardly recognize them. The following names which appear in the original patent have been modified until Pellinger has become Bellinger; Pears, Barse; Pell, Bell; Edich, Edigh; Ittich, Eedick; Volz, Vols, Folts; Herter, Herder, Harder, Hatter, Harter; Staley, Steele; Schumacher, Shoemaker; Wollever, Wollaber. There were innumerable changes rung on the name of Herkimer such as Herchkeimer, Kerchmer, Erghemar, Harkemar and Herkheimer. Among the names found in the original Stone Arabia patent are the familiar ones of Finck, Deichert (Dygert), Koperuol (Coppernoll), Peiper (Piper), Schenele (Snell) and Loucks.

For upwards of thirty years the Palatines enjoyed peace and security notwithstanding their exposed situation on this distant frontier. They had prospered, having acquired comfortable homes and a fair competence, but this period of repose was destined to be rudely ended by the unhappy calamity of war—a calamity which had already been but too well tested by the unfortunate Palatines in their Fatherland. But they had been lulled into a feeling of security because of long exemption from hostile approaches and were slow to awaken to a sense of their danger although war was at their very doors—and for the very reason that they were so unprepared, the inhabitants of Burnetsfield fell easy victims to their French and Indian foes, who with tomahawk and torch, descended upon the defenseless hamlet early one dark, cold morning in the fall of 1757. So sudden was the onslaught those who escaped had no time in which to clothe themselves. A few were brutally murdered, while many were dragged away into captivity, Johann Jost Petrie being among the number.

One incident of this cruel invasion

never loses its thrilling interest in the telling, partly because of the flavor of romance which hangs about it, and partly because its chief actors have many descendants living today in the Mohawk Valley. The outline in brief of the story is this: On the memorable night just referred to the slumbers of a family by the name of Harter were rudely broken by the blood-curdling war whoops of a band of Indians who had separated themselves from the main body of warriors who were intent on devastating the little hamlet of Burnetsfield. The humble log dwelling of the Harters stood on the sunny slope which is now occupied by the picturesque farm-house of Mr. William Kay, just west of the village of Herkimer. The savages lost no time in siezing the family and applying the torch to their abode, they started with the terrified prisoners to make their way back to Canada over the rough trail to the north. When they reached the St. Lawrence river they separated the family, placing Mrs. Harter in a canoe with two Indians who were to paddle the frail bark across the broad expanse of water. Before the keel of the boat had touched the opposite shore, a daughter had been born to Mrs. Harter. This child, strangely enough, survived to grow to womanhood and was admired for her great beauty and social gifts. She became the wife of General Michael Myers. In that beautiful "God's acre," known as Oak Hill Cemetery, rests all that is mortal of the lovely Catharine Harter Myers, and but few of those who chance to pass the moss covered pyramidal stone which marks the spot are familiar with the strange story of her life, the first year of which was spent, with her parents, in captivity among the Indians.

All of the prisoners who were carried off at the time of the attack on Burnetsfield were released the following year and returned to their homes only to find them in ashes, and their lands shorn of everything but their fertility.

They had hardly time to rally from these losses and afflictions before the war-cloud of the Revolution obscured their horizon, and it was not long after

Before it rose to break over their heads. The prospect was now gloomy indeed; but these much tried souls did not flinch. They cheerfully assisted in every movement to repel the enemy and were as unselfishly devoted to their adopted country as though native to its soil.

Many of the Palatines laid down their lives in the sanguinary struggle at Oriskany. Professor Grider, in a recent lecture upon the Mohawk Valley, referring to the importance of this battle, says that it was the pivotal one of the Revolution, and the success or failure of the revolt against England hinged upon it. The importance, then, of the service rendered to our country by these brave Germans can not be over-estimated. That the sacrifices which they made for the country of their adoption may be fully appreciated let it be understood that almost every Palatine family was represented in the battle of Oriskany—not only by one of its members, but in many instances by several members. Nine Snells marched to battle, two only returned. Six Petries periled their lives in the same conflict, while six Wagners, four Wolhebers, five Dygerts and six Foxes swelled the numbers of those who marched to this deadly fray.

"The men who fought this battle," to quote the words of Chancellor Haven, "were good specimens of a peculiar people. They came across the ocean—or their fathers and mothers did—not for money, but for liberty and religion. Such a people fought the battle of Oriskany; nay, the battle of freedom for all mankind." Through the fatalities of two wars death had entered nearly every

household; but being inured to all hardship, these heroic people bore even this sorrow with noble fortitude. One writer says that at the close of the Revolutionary war, "After this valley had been raided and warred over during seven long years, three thousand women and children remained with but five hundred men to care for them." What wonder, then, that the Palatines became disheartened and crushed in spirit. They had suffered so severely during two bloody conflicts they could not rally, and were never again the people they had been before.

After the Revolutionary war there was a remarkable emigration of the New Englanders to this part of New York state, the Mohawk Valley in particular, being a favorite point of settlement with these thrifty and energetic people. The Palatines, because of their vicissitudes, gave way before the encroachments of this new element, and it was not long before the settlements of the valley lost their distinctively German characteristics, and perhaps the change was for the better, as these early Germans were intensely conservative and clung with great tenacity to old customs, which made them disinclined to favor innovations. The New Englanders, on the contrary, were animated by a progressive spirit, which showed itself in the rapid advancement of educational and business facilities, the result of which is shown in the fact that this beautiful and historical valley of the Mohawk is today second to none in the country in enterprise and importance.

HERKIMER AND ITS PEOPLE DURING THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS OF THIS CENTURY.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society June 9, 1896.

I propose to give some glimpses and reminiscences of Herkimer and its people during the first thirty years of this century. Some of the things I write are within my own knowledge and others I have learned from Colonel Suiter, who is still with us, and from William Smith, and other old citizens who have passed away.

The people living here had a village organization and government, under a legislative act, as early as 1807, one of the earliest in the state west of Schenectady. The stony ground, mainly above the railroad and south of German street, was usually called by the residents here the "Stone Ridge"; and the three parallel streets, Main, Prospect and Washington, with the intersecting cross streets, north of the railroad, then existed, and upon these streets early in the century there were but a few hundred inhabitants. As late as 1830 there were not more than five hundred. There were no sidewalks, the first sidewalks having been built upon portions of Main street in 1832, and the buildings were small and of simple construction. The buildings in the village and particularly in the country, generally, were not finished, lathed or plastered above the first story and there were generally no locks on the outside doors. The most considerable private residences

were as follows: The house now owned by Dr Burgess on Main street, the one on Main street now owned by Dr. Kay, recently occupied by Mrs. Lawton, where she was born, and during the eighty-three years of her life always lived; the Simeon Ford house on Washington street, just south of the lane crossing the hydraulic to what is now called Brooklyn, and the Weber house now occupied by Dr. Pryne.

There was but one church, and that was where the Reformed Church now is, and the Court House, which included the jail, was where the present Court House is located, and that burned down in 1834 and the same fire was communicated to the church and also destroyed that.

There was but one school house on the Stone Ridge, and that a very poor and cheap one, located on Washington street on the lot now occupied by LaFayette J. Folts. There was another school house in a separate district, situated nearly opposite the brick house of Jacob J. Beltinger on German street.

There were several stores—one where Dr. Suiter's house now is, which was kept by Mr. Farwell, who afterwards moved to Utica and thence to Chicago where his sons have been among the prominent business men, one of them having been a United States Senator. There was a block of three wooden stores

where the Fox block now is, one where Mrs. Washburn resides, and where the National Bank now is there was a store and a jewelry shop. At the beginning of the century and for a long time before Jacob P. Weber, called King Weber, had a store on German street, just east of the lot then owned by Dr. William Petry and later by Mr. Samuel Earl. At this store he dealt in peltries with the Indians and white hunters and trappers and amassed a large fortune, larger than that of any other person in the State west of Schenectady, which on his death passed to his daughters, Mrs. Frederick Doxtater, Mrs. F. P. Bellinger and Mrs. C. C. Bellinger.

There were more taverns in the town of Herkimer then than now. There was one at the Farrington farm near the Ilion depot, called the Upham tavern, somewhat noted for its sign, on one side of which was painted in oils a well-dressed gentleman, riding a fine horse, with the legend, "Going to Law," and on the other side a shabbily dressed, forlorn looking man and a poor, woe-begone looking horse, with the legend, "Returning from Law;" and also at the following places: On the hill west of the Horrocks factory, in a building recently burned down; where the present cheese factory is; just east of the residence of Dr. Pryne; on Main street where Dr. Suiter's house is, in a building which was before a store; where the Mansion House now is; on the corner of Main and Mary streets, where Mrs. Monroe now lives; where the Waverly House now is; where the Stimsons now live; where the Deimel block now is; where the Nelson House and also where the Edick House now are; up the creek where John Farmer, and afterwards his son Harry and still later Mr. Fenner lived; where Mr. James Bellinger lives; near the Tower farm on the turnpike, and still further down where Darius Small now lives, and just east of that, one called the Ethridge tavern. Their profits were small and outside of the village they were generally connected with farms and were only incidental to farming. The charges were generally small, a sixpence for a meal and the same for lodging and one shil-

ling for the stabling of a team over night with hay. Whiskey, which was the principal liquor sold, was not more than fifteen cents per gallon, and hence could be dispensed cheap with a profit, and it was freely indulged in. All the travel was by land, except a small amount upon the Erie canal after it was opened, and it was large. The stages which then carried all of the passengers to and from the west, passed over the turnpike on the north side of the Mohawk river, and through this village, bringing much custom to the taverns along the route. The stages were drawn by four horses and they all changed horses at some tavern in this village. As a stage came into the village from the east or west, the driver would blow his horn, and by the time he reached the tavern the fresh horses would be ready to hitch on.

There were several whiskey distilleries in the town; one where Mr. Marks's residence now is; one on the southeast corner of Prospect and Church streets; one near Kast's Bridge; another on the West Canada creek just north of the toll-gate; and a cider brandy distillery up the creek at the Farmer place. There was an ashery for the manufacture of potash where Mr. James Fagan now lives, and south of that there was a tannery; there was also an ashery on Washington street where Mr. McNeal lives.

There were a number of blacksmiths, who not only did all the work now done by men of that craft in this region, but they also made all the carpenters' tools and all farming implements, such as plows, hoes, shovels, scythes, axes, etc.

The shoemakers made and mended all the shoes, and no shoes were brought here, as now, for sale. Farmers would have their hides tanned, and shoemakers would go around, and, working by the day or month, would once a year shoe the whole family—the farmer furnishing the work-bench which many of them kept on hand for that purpose.

Tailors made all the clothes, as there was no ready-made clothing, and they, too, would annually go around from house to house and make the clothes for a whole family out of cloth made from

the wool spun and woven in the farmer's family, and dyed and dressed at the fulling mills, a number of which were located in the town. These itinerant shoemakers and tailors worked for about \$13 a month.

There was a manufactory of cow-bells where the jail now is, and Colonel Suter, when a boy, worked in the factory at a shilling per day. These bells were made for use in this State, upon cows which were permitted to roam for food in the forests, particularly in the early spring. But they were sold mainly for use in the southern states.

This village was the home of several prominent lawyers, among them, Gaylord Griswold, a brilliant lawyer in the early part of this century, who became a Federalist member of Congress, elected in 1802, and died, comparatively young, in 1809; Aaron Hackley, who was elected a member of Congress in 1818 and voted for the Missouri Compromise line in 1821; Simeon Ford, Loren Ford, James B. Hunt, Charles Gray, Michael Hoffman, and Flavius J. Littlejohn, who subsequently became Governor of Michigan. These men gave our bar a high standing and adorned many public stations.

The Herkimer American, published by Edward P. Seymour, was, during the later years of the period with which I am now dealing, the only newspaper.

The doctors were Doolittle, Farrell, Abrahams, and Tomlin, and they usually visited their out-of-town patients on horseback, and their compensation for a visit was not more than fifty cents, and to my personal knowledge, they pulled teeth for one shilling each.

Farm hands received \$8 per month by the year and about \$13 per month for the spring, summer and fall work, and they usually worked from daylight to dark; and female help received from 50 to 75 cents per week.

Farmers and their families were generally clothed in home-made cloth, both woolen and linen. The women generally hatched and spun the flax and wove it into cloth for underwear and sheets and pillow-cases, and they also worked in the

fields upon the farm, cultivating crops and gathering in the harvest.

A large share of farm work was done by what were called "bees." There were bees for paring apples, spinning, plowing, drawing out manure, chopping and logging, husking corn and sometimes for making hay. Hilarity, good fellowship and sometimes pugnacity among the men at these bees were stimulated by the free use of whiskey which was never absent. Indeed, few farmers in those days did their farm work without dealing out whiskey to their help, to keep them warm when it was cold, and cool when it was hot. Large farmers, frequently at the commencement of haying and harvesting, purchased whiskey by the barrel for use upon their farms. Whiskey was also freely dispensed at funerals, christenings, sheep-shearing, sheep washing, and on all occasions of festivities, and yet, the evils of intemperance were not greater then than now.

The farmers in those days were frugal, industrious, generally out of debt and independent; most of them never gave nor held a note. In the winter the leading farmers were engaged in carrying their produce to Albany for sale there, and they would generally carry back loads of merchandise for merchants. They were generally a hearty, rollicking lot of men, social, free from harassing cares, honest, pious, with few wants and simple habits; and I believe that on the whole they were happier than the farmers of this day. They nearly all belonged to Dominie Spinner's Dutch Church, and if they did not in all respects exemplify the precepts of the Christian religion in their daily lives, they lived well up to the highest standards of their day. They were taught the Heidelberg Catechism and when sufficiently instructed, were taken into the church on the profession of their faith. They usually attended church in the forenoon on Sunday and a large share of them slept through the service; and in the afternoon, following the customs of their German ancestors, which were sanctioned by their dominie, they visit-

ed, and sometimes engaged in other harmless amusements.

In the long winters the dances called "Dutch Fuddles" were a great feature among the farmers, serving in the inclement season to cultivate a cheerful spirit and to mollify the asperity of nature. They were given in private houses, and one fiddler, usually standing upon a chair, furnished the music. He would call off the dances, and the women, dressed in home-made stuff and calico, silks being very rare, and the men, clothed in homespun, with coarse boots and sometimes without anything on their feet but stockings, kept time to the music and whirled in the giddy dance, in a manner that would astonish the trained and genteel dancers of these modern days.

There were no friction matches, and coals were kept alive over night for the fire of the next day, and when there were no live coals, fire was started with a spark from steel and flint and in some other rude way.

Among the Germans, or Dutch, as they were called, much was made of the few holidays they had. Christmas, the main holiday, was celebrated for several days, continuing until after New Years, and Easter and Pinckster, which in the church calendar is Whit-Sunday were kept with much zest. Easter and the colored eggs were always associated in the youthful minds. The 4th of July was a great day, ushered in with the boom of cannon and celebrated with parades in which Revolutionary soldiers bore a conspicuous part, and with speeches and fire-works and other demonstrations of genuine patriotic zeal and devotion.

During all these years military organizations were numerous, and all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, were required to belong to some of them, and to train as it was called. Military titles were much coveted, and even a corporal was not to be despised. General trainings, when a whole regiment or several regiments were brought together for parade, were great events. There was a general turn out of the peo-

ple and the occasion was a real holiday. Cider and other beverages and Yankee notions were sold, and ginger bread was there to gladden the hearts of the youngsters who had a few pennies to invest. There were artillery, rifle, light infantry, cavalry and militia companies, and they kept up the military spirit engendered in the Revolutionary war and the later war of 1812.

The inhabitants of this town were mostly the descendants of the old Palatines and of later German emigrants. German, Mohawk Dutch as it was called, was generally talked and understood. That language was heard more than any other in the pulpit, in the streets, taverns, stores and upon election and town meeting days. These people were plain, simple, honest and unlearned. They were superstitious, generally believed in witches and ghosts; and many were the stories of ghosts and witches I heard in my boyhood, which almost made my hair stand on end and filled the dark night with terrors and my brain with troubled dreams. Within the village a man by the name of Henry Helmer, who lived where Mr. J. G. Bellinger now lives, had some hogs that were diseased in some unusual way and he concluded that they might be bewitched. He consulted a professed witch doctor, by the name of Baltus Bridenbecker, who lived in Schuylers, and he was advised to burn the hogs, and that the first man who came when they began to squeal would be the witch. Helmer confined the hogs and piled brush upon them and set fire to the brush, and a man by the name of Jacob Moon, a quaint character, was the first to appear when the hogs began to squeal, and so he was believed to be the witch. The hogs were roasted and Helmer was thereafter called the "Sibrorer," the Dutch name for hog roaster and his son, a comrade of mine, was called the "Young Sibrorer."

There were no buggies or cutters and at most two or three carriages in the whole town, one of which was still owned by William Smith at his death and passed to his legatees under his will; and there was not a piano or a house or-

gan of any kind in the town and no cushioned or upholstered furniture.

There were but a few Yankees here at the beginning of this century. The Dutch feared them, believing them to be too smart for Dutch simplicity. The trick of the "Yankee pass" from which Judge Staring suffered, handed down by tradition which is related in Benton's History of Herkimer County, engendered suspicion of Yankee cunning and craft.

During this time there were never more than two Roman Catholics residing here, one of whom was a lawyer by the name of Lapham and the other a farmer by the name of O'Rourke, until about the time of the construction of the hydraulic canal and the railroad, when many Irish were brought here to work upon these structures, who came here with such a reputation for pugnacity that they caused us youngsters to give them a wide berth when we met them.

There were no Low Dutch here except Peter DeGraff, who came here from Schenectady, and was a tailor by trade, and kept the toll-gate at the West Canada creek bridge, whose youngest son, Henry, is now among the wealthy men of the city of New York, and is president of the Bowery National Bank.

It is a curious circumstance that the settlers upon the Mohawk river were divided as between the Low Dutch and the German High Dutch, as they were divided upon the River Rhine. There the High Dutch lived upon the upper Rhine and the Low Dutch upon the lower Rhine. Here the Low Dutch settled upon the Mohawk below Canajoharie and the High Dutch above that point, and hence below we find the name of Amsterdam, a Dutch name, and above Palatine, Minden, Danube, Mannheim, Frankfort, all German names from the upper Rhine.

At the beginning of this century there were but few books here except those of a religious nature. But the need for more books soon began to be felt, and the "Herkimer Library" was incorporated in 1809 under the general act of the legislature of 1796, authorizing the incorporation of libraries. The incor-

poration was effected at a meeting called for February 15, at the house of Theophilus Morgan, now the Mansion House, over which Matthew Myers was chosen to preside, and the following seven trustees of the library were elected: Walter Fish, Simeon Ford, Philo M. Hackley, Asa Munger, Daniel Morse, Asa Gifford and William Lappan. The law of 1796 required at least twenty members to organize such a library and a cash capital of at least £40. The members owned shares, which were assignable, and annual payments from members could be required by the by-laws. Matthew Myers was a son of General Michael Myers, and he was a graduate of Union College, in the class of 1806, and was probably studying law in 1809. The trustees were all prominent men here. Walter Fish was one of the judges of the county, and he was the father of the late Henry Fish of Utica. Simeon Ford was the leading lawyer of the county; Philo M. Hackley was a merchant; Asa Munger was a jeweler; Daniel Morse was a harness maker; Asa Gifford was a carpenter and William Lappan was a lawyer. We know nothing about this library except its formal organization. It did not come down to the time of any person now living, even by tradition. It must have soon died out for the want of support. It is a marked illustration of the power of time to obliterate all traces of the living that there are no descendants, now in the county, of any of the men connected with the organization of that library.

Herkimer was in the early years of this century, as now, the center of considerable political influence. It was near the geographical center of the state, and before railroad travel was more accessible from all parts of the state than any other important point. Here the Democratic State Conventions were held which nominated Martin Van Buren for Governor in 1828, Enos T. Throop for Governor in 1830, and William L. Marcy for Governor in 1832; and here a young man's Democratic State Convention was held in 1832 to promote the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency. The influence of

Michael Hoffman was then, and for I hope to take up some other local topics
many years afterwards influential in the of interest for some future meetings of
councils of the Democratic party. the society.

I must here bring this paper to a close.

LETTER FROM CHARLES HOLT,

OF KANKAKEE, ILL.,

Read before the Herkimer County Historical Society, April 14, 1896.

KANKAKEE, Ill., March 25, '96.

ARTHUR T. SMITH, Recording Sec'y:

I have received your official notice of my election as an honorary member of the Herkimer County Historical Society. Permit me to thank the society most sincerely for the honor thus conferred. This election is peculiarly gratifying to me, and I presume it is due to a recognition of a series of sketches of the early days of Herkimer village furnished by me to the CITIZEN some years since giving some personal recollections more interesting to the older class of citizens than valuable as historical contributions. If I am correct in my surmise a compliance with an unofficial request accompanying the notification for a letter "descriptive of Herkimer as I remember it," will excuse something more than a formal acknowledgment of the membership conferred upon me. Any contribution I can furnish must necessarily be more in the nature of personal recollections than of a historical character for which I have not the means of a compilation. I should be pleased if it were in my power to contribute something of historic value to what your society purposes to collect and preserve. Herkimer county is rich in material for not only a local historian, but a state history would be sadly deficient if prominence were not given to one of the earliest settled portions of the

state and the scene of the early struggles for the domination of races and its peaceable possession by the conquerors.

Herkimer, 70 years ago, during the days of my boyhood and residence there, was a quiet village and the inhabitants a quiet people who led a quiet life. Their serenity was seldom disturbed by anything outside the routine of a rural life, and peace and contentment reigned within its borders. The Utica and Schenectady railroad, which has developed into the great Central system, with its passing trains and loaded coaches, was unknown. The Erie canal was the thoroughfare of freight and the "packets" carried the passengers who were not conveyed in the four-horse stage coaches that daily traversed a valley which is now the avenue of the wealth of an empire to a market of the world. The three long and five cross-streets were unnamed, and were known by the residences of some prominent citizen living upon them. There were no banks, extensive trading houses, factories, doctors' offices, (the office of the doctor was in his house) hotels, (they were all "taverns") modern residences or costly churches. The one district school gathered all the children of the village, and to most of them was the only source of an education which the modern public school has enlarged and carries into every neighborhood.

Ministers (no clergymen then) were faithful and churches dutiful, though "evangelists" were unknown and "converts" few. The children were brought up to a religious life and the teachings of childhood governed in a maturer age. Doctors had not reached the use of the gig, the horse carried him in his visits outside the village and the saddle-bags were the only drug stores where prescriptions were compounded. Lawyers served their clients then as now, and few were graduated to the ability to pay. Merchants made spring and fall visits to New York to boast on their return of the latest styles, the most fashionable goods and the largest stock in town. Those stocks would not go far in supplying the present trade, but they were ample for the wants of a community which was content with comfort and had not learned the demands of luxury. Six yards of calico was a full dress pattern and a new dress an event of family if not of neighborhood importance. The newspaper had not felt the impulse of enterprise or the influence of competition, and ventured upon a cost of publication which would have devoured the entire income of a modern prosperous office and bankrupted its publisher.

The boys were rich with a 37½ cent pair of skates, a 75 cent wool hat, and 25 cents for the 4th of July or menagerie day. The girls did not expect a new modern "up-to-date" spring dress after the reign of winter had been met in a home-made flannel gown. The last summer's left-over did duty until it passed beyond repair or had been outgrown. No new Easter hat was necessary to keep in the fashion or hold a coveted place in "our set."

Bicycles, big sleeves and bloomers would have been a greater curiosity and a more attractive spectacle than the menagerie and general training combined, and the performers would have excited more comment than the "far-famed acrobat" or the "only rhinoceros in America." The singing school did not develop a Jenny Lind (the best of foreign importation) or the piano bring into existence a Paderewski; but it replenished the

church choir, where the melody was as acceptable to the worshippers as the trills and screeches in the concert room to the up-to-date auditor. Base-ball was a simple and healthy pastime, while long-ball two and three-old-cat disputed favor with the more pretentious game, hispy. Snapping-the-whip and red lion were evening amusements which closed a day of school attendance or honest industry. The holidays were seasons of general observance and unalloyed enjoyment. If they cost less than the same seasons now, and were less profuse in gifts, they were more productive of pleasure, and the remembrances were more sincere testimonials of affection. The tea parties were assemblages of friends, where, if the entertainment was simple the good will was evident. The early residents deserve a competent historian. They were men and women of another age, and though their ways would be antiquated now they were exemplars of the home virtues which are none too conspicuous in the present day. Few of them, if living, would adorn modern "society," but if less gifted with modern "accomplishments" they were true to their duties, and gave to a later day those who, in their spheres, gave character and repute to the circles in which they moved, and in which some of them have surrendered their places to successors who now govern in the social, business, professional and political world. During my visits a few years since I found far more names on the monuments and headstones in the two old graveyards than appeared in the multiplied pursuits of the present village. Their descendants and successors should honor their memories, and no more fitting contribution could be made to your society than such a tribute as that of Mr. Smith to the virtues of one of the oldest and most distinguished citizens of your village.

Honorable as has been the record of Herkimer and worthy as were those who moulded its character, the village has done wisely in keeping up with the progress and changes which mark its history. The world has advanced since 70

years ago, and neither isolation nor stagnation is to be desired or commended. With all the veneer of modern days there is yet a solidity of character and stability of structure which insures the permanence of the essential qualities of right living and hopeful results. The virtues of the early settler are perpetuated in their descendants, to whom a trust is committed which will not be betrayed. Give the fathers and the mothers, the old-time boys and girls, a passing thought, and when opportunity occurs render them a tribute to which they are entitled. Such a tribute will not detract from the merit of those who render it. It may not be preserved as an historical record, but it surely would not be out of place in a social meeting of your members.

In connection with my acknowledgments of the membership conferred upon me I make a couple of contributions which you may deem worthy of a place in your collection of mementoes of a former day. The 3-cent shinplaster issued

by my father was "put out" in the year of my birth, and though as a lusty four months old resident I cannot vouch for its issue from personal knowledge, I have no doubt of its genuineness. By-the-way, how many "current bank notes" were required to redeem it? The "certificate" allowing the use of a coachee is suggestive of the war taxes of a later date. Could other persons than those "of a dark green color, having panel work in the upper division thereof, hanging upon steel springs," have been allowed to ride in it? A similar tax now upon all carriages would not only provide an abundant revenue for the government, but leave a surplus for the protection of our seacoasts and the equipment and support of the 9,500,000 army the United States could put in the field on 30 days' notice for the general defence of the country.

Wishing your society success and thanking its members for the personal compliment bestowed upon me,

Yours truly,

CHAS. HOLT.

GEN. F. E. SPINNER'S FIRST NOMINATION TO CONGRESS.

AN ADDRESS BY ALEXIS L. JOHNSON, OF EAST SCHUYLER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, May 12, 1896.

In April, 1890, a number of the "*College and School*" was published by F. G. Barry, that he termed a "Spinner number."

It was mostly composed of sketches of Gen. Spinner, either furnished by himself or his friends. Mr. Barry had proposed to publish some reminiscences of the General in a future number, for which the following was written, but from some cause the number was not published. This explanation is made in reference to remarks that occur in this paper.

In this account no attempt has been made to embellish it with fine phrases or fanciful words, but simply a plain statement of facts.

The writer alone is left of those whose names are mentioned; the others have departed and only their memory remains.

Much interest has lately been taken by the friends of Gen. Spinner in the valley of the Mohawk in his health and history.

The publication of the Spinner number of the "*College and School*" has afforded much pleasure to his old and numerous friends and acquaintances, and has met with a cordial reception by them. This has encouraged the editor to issue an extra "Spinner number."

There are some circumstances and facts connected with the first nomination of

Gen. Spinner to Congress that have never been published, and as that was a turning point in his political career, and his entrance into a national and honorable reputation, a brief account of them will be given by an eye-witness.

The county of Herkimer at that time composed the 17th Congressional District, and was largely Democratic. Gen. Spinner had always been a Democrat, having held the office of sheriff, one of the commissioners to build the court house and jail for the county, after the old court house and jail were burnt. He also was one of the commissioners for building the lunatic asylum at Utica. His military record was good, attaining the rank of Major General in the Third Division of Artillery in the militia of the State.

His activity in the political campaigns had made him a favorite in the party, and he became a candidate for Member of Congress. Dr. Walter Booth, a worthy and popular man of the town of Russia, was also a candidate who had many friends in the northern part of the county.

At that time the caucuses to nominate delegates to county conventions were not held simultaneously, and eighteen towns had elected delegates, nine towns having delegates for Booth and nine towns for Spinner.

The town of Schuyler had not chosen delegates, and, holding the balance of power, became the battle-ground, and great efforts were made by the rival candidates to secure the delegation.

The Democrats were in the minority in the town, but had always kept their organization.

The town committee had given notice for a caucus to be held at the red school house in school district No. 4, on Thursday evening next preceding the Saturday on which the county convention was to be held.

The district is in the east part of the town, and a large portion of the residents were Democrats, and of German ancestry, who in former years had listened to the ministrations of the General's father, and were old and staunch friends of the son, voting for him every time they had an opportunity.

Dr. Booth had labored with some of the leading Democrats in the west part of the town, and had enlisted them in his favor. The friends of Gen. Spinner had learned of this, and made arrangements to elect delegates who would earnestly support him in the convention.

During the afternoon of Thursday, Charles Spinner and Samuel Earl of Herkimer met at the house of the writer, who lived opposite the school house, and with Samuel M. Jackson, a neighbor who happened to be present, a consultation was held and a plan agreed on that in the end proved successful. The candidates were selected and ballots prepared, to be ready if balloting was proposed.

Word was sent around to hasten the voters in, as Booth's friends, led on by E. W. Day and Dr. John Mower, were expected early, and soon the voters from the west part of the town began to arrive in wagon loads and on foot.

The house was locked and the key in safe possession, and the house was not opened while waiting for Spinner's friends to get together. They were farmers, having chores to do—were a little late.

Impatient of delay, Booth's friends finally raised a window and swarmed into

the house in the dark. The door was opened by the town committee and Spinner's friends filed in.

According to custom, the committee called the house to order, the call for the caucus was read, a chairman and secretary elected—the organization being perfected.

E. W. Day, thinking to gain an advantage, moved that the delegates be elected by ballot. Never before had delegates been chosen this way. He, having ballots all ready and supposing his opponents had none, expected to win easily; but to his surprise the motion was promptly seconded by Spinner's friends and carried.

The balloting proceeded. The Spinner delegates—Vaughn Sweet, Samuel M. Jackson and Alexis L. Johnson—were elected by a large majority.

When the convention met at Herkimer Dr. Booth's friends made a desperate effort to compass their ends by appearing with delegates to contest the seats of those regularly elected.

When the contestants appeared before the committee to have their claims passed upon, that the "West End" people had in the dark, when first in the school house, gone through the farce of naming delegates as a joke. But when, in the open meeting, one of the counter elect delegates was chosen secretary, he acted and signed the credentials of the regular delegates, thereby ignoring their former proceedings.

The contesting delegates were dismissed. The names of two of the committee to decide the contest are remembered—Wm. Gates of Frankfort, and Jarius Mather of Fairfield.

The convention nominated Gen. Spinner, he having a majority of three, and took his seat in the 34th Congress, Dec. 3d, 1855.

The opening of this session was remarkable for the long and bitter contest for Speaker, which, after two months, ended in the election of Nathaniel P. Banks.

Near the close of the contest of 133 ballottings, Gen. Spinner, who had some "Free Soil" ideas, also anxious to get to

work, and in accordance with the advice of some of his Democratic friends, concluded to vote for Banks, who was elected, receiving 103 votes, and Wm. Aiken, of South Carolina, receiving 100.

Since that time Gen. Spinner acted with the Republicans and by them was elected to represent the 17th District (then composed of St. Lawrence and Herkimer counties) in two succeeding sessions, his congressional career terminating March 3d, 1861.

In his service as Treasurer of the United States, he deservedly acquired a national and honorable reputation.

The writer, though always a Democrat and nine years the junior of Gen. Spinner, has always had great respect for him.

A few years ago an hour was spent with him at his home in Mohawk, and the time was very pleasantly passed in relating our reminiscences of Herkimer and old military and political friends, most of whom had departed. With sorrow we hear of his sufferings in his old age, but know he will bear them with the fortitude and bravery that was always a characteristic of his long and varied life.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF HERKIMER VILLAGE DATING BACK NEARLY SEVENTY YEARS.

AN ADDRESS BY ALBERT L. HOWELL, OF MOHAWK,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, September 8, 1896.

Since the organization of the Herkimer County Historical Society contributions have been presented at its monthly meetings touching upon many subjects of fascinating interest, pertaining to the valley of the Mohawk, and the first settlers of Herkimer village. And claiming it as my birthplace, and from youth up to twenty-one years of age spent there, all the principal events which occurred during those years, in connection with the inhabitants who participated in them, are still fresh in the memory of the writer.

And having been solicited to add something that might be of interest as personal recollections, and reminiscences of those years (events perhaps which may have an unwritten history), I have sketched some of them as they occurred. There being but a remnant of those early inhabitants still living who would be able to recognize them or to follow critically in the reading of them. But Judge Robert Earl being one of the latter (and a schoolmate in boyhood days) I may trust to stand corrected by him if any inaccuracies occur, also to be excused in referring to his address before the Historical Society at its meeting June 9th last when he mentioned the names of some of the most prominent citizens then living in Herkimer village. The names of Simeon and Lauren Ford,

Michael Hoffman, Charles Gray and other distinguished men. Simeon Ford stood at the head of the list.

THE HYDRAULIC CANAL.

He was selected to deliver the oration on the occasion of celebrating the breaking of ground for the Herkimer Hydraulic water works, July 4th, 1833. Being then but eight years of age, I thought him to be a "grand old man," and listened with a good deal of interest to what he said.

The spot where the celebration was held was a few rods west of the dam built across the gorge that now holds the body of water called Mirror lake. The speaker stood under the shade of a large hickory tree, upon a rise of ground, the people being seated around him. At the conclusion of his address he grasped a shovel that was in readiness, descended to the ground where the channel was to be, and with it turned over the first spade of earth to be excavated for the ditch, amid the booming of cannon and the hurrah of the multitude. After this a team was hitched to a plough, and a few furrows were turned over, which concluded the ceremonies of the day, winding up with refreshments, spread on long tables near by in a grove, with hard cider as the liquid accompaniment, (which was hard to my personal knowledge) as our uncle who was with us handed me a cup, and, being thirsty,

drank its contents, and soon was able to give any experience of its effects, being the only time in life to know how it seemed to be intoxicated.

The preliminary steps having been taken, the project was successfully carried to completion. As the Herkimer Hydraulic Water Company was incorporated in 1833 with a capital of \$100,000 to construct a dam across the West Canada creek north of Herkimer village to create water power for manufactories, and to dispose of water privileges to this end. But for many years it failed to realize the expectations of its projectors as well as the people of Herkimer—not because it was a wild and unfruitful scheme, but for want of good financiering by its stockholders, one in particular, who held a controlling interest, being a farmer and large land-holder, whose lands bordered the entire western part of the village from the turnpike, (now called German street), to the Mohawk river on the south, gauged the business of selling water privileges as he would a piece of land or the products of his farm, not having the foresight that by selling water privileges at rates which would induce capitalists to invest and build factories, he was bringing prosperity to all. There were many applications made soon after its completion, Mr. Eliphalet Remington, the founder of the celebrated Remington armory at Ilion, being one of the first. At that time it was considered the best artificial water power in the state. Beside holding prices too high for purchasers, he wanted it stipulated in every sale or lease, that in case of low water and not sufficient for more than one mill, or factory, his grist-mill should always be the favored one. The present stone grist-mill was erected by him soon after the completion of the works, and was the first to use the water. Subsequently J. B. Morse made an arrangement for using the first water power at the upper drop, of twenty-two feet, using an overshot wheel and manufacturing hat bodies. He was succeeded by Burdick & Orr in the same business. Then came Hon. A. H. & B. Laflin who manufactured paper, and they were suc-

ceeded by Hon. Warner Miller. The original building having burned in 1865, was rebuilt and enlarged by the present Herkimer Paper company.

It was predicted, during those years of non-use of the hydraulic water works, that Herkimer would never be benefited by its use until that generation passed away; and the prophecy proved true. But for this, Herkimer to-day would probably be a large and busy manufacturing town, and the first to become a city in this county instead of Little Falls.

THE BUILDING OF THE UTICA AND SCHENECTADY RAILROAD.

One other event which took place in the early days of Herkimer village, (which seemed full of promise to open the way to a prosperous period), was the construction of the Utica & Schenectady railroad. A charter having been granted in 1833, a survey of the route and right of way secured, work was immediately commenced, and on the first of August, 1836, the road was completed and its first passengers passed over it. On this occasion, as the excursion train passed up the valley from Schenectady, crowds of people were in waiting at all the stopping places to get aboard and take their first ride after the "iron horse" that puffed and hissed, yet never tired out.

The first passenger cars were frail affairs, with not half the capacity of the present coaches, placed on four-wheeled trucks, each car being divided by partitions, making three compartments, to hold eight persons. The entrance was by a door on each side of the car, the conductor reaching in to collect the fare, standing on a foot-rave, and holding on to an iron rod running along overhead. Tickets were not in use then, there being no ticket office or depot. All the fares were paid to the conductors, and of course they were all honest ones (on the start) and no need for detective agencies.

The original capital invested was two million dollars. One of the provisions of its charter was prohibiting the carrying of freight; another was fixing the maximum fare at four cents a mile, also requiring the company to sell out to the

state after ten years if the state wanted to buy. The first single track was cheaply made by using cedar ties notched to receive pine stringers six inches square and held in place by wedges. Afterward flat ties were used, with cast iron brackets spiked on each side of the rail to the ties, wrought iron strap rails being spiked to the stringers. By using these strap rails there was a constant danger of the spikes at each end of the connections being drawn up out of place by the heat of the sun in summer, and the cold in winter; consequently the road had to be watched in sections by men before every train passed over it, to see that there was no "snake heads" (as they were called) to run up and pierce the bottom of the cars.

The speed of trains at first was about twenty miles an hour, and no time-tables governed the running of trains. They would leave Schenectady at a specified hour each morning and arrive in Utica when they could, and return on the same plan.

The first survey of the road was made to pass by Herkimer on a straight line from the water-house some distance east of the West Canada creek bridge, to a point about one mile west of the village. But some of the most influential citizens thought it would be a nice thing to have a railroad run through the village, and prevailed on the chief engineer to change it to its present route, which was a mistake for Herkimer as well as the railroad company, as there has been much regret of late years by the officials of the company that the first survey was not adhered to, as a bad curve would have been avoided through the village, and the many lives that have been lost at its street crossings would probably never have occurred. There has been of late some talk of changing it to the first survey. Herkimer would be greatly benefited by this change, as the height of the embankment from the West Canada creek to the river bank on the west would serve as a complete barrier against floods from the Mohawk river, to the inhabitants living on the flat lands north of the railroad, and for the village to

buy and transform the unoccupied ground east and west of South Main street, together with the land now used for the tracks, for a village park. In this event the entire village would be north of the railroad tracks, together with its railroad depot, freight house, etc.

For many years the only fuel used for the locomotives was pine wood, with the bark shaved off, to lessen the sparks thrown from the smoke-stack, and which was a constant source of danger, by setting fire to the track and bridges.

The locomotives were not then constructed to burn coal, and it was a weird sight after dark to witness the coming of a train in the distance, belching forth its millions of sparks and black smoke, like something direct from the "regions infernal." In order to have an ample supply of wood always on hand, it required large woodsheds to be built for housing it: the present freight house at Herkimer was originally one of them.

The first few years after the road was completed the mails were carried by the railroad company on a horse car, similar to the present hand car in use by the track repairers, with a carriage top attachment to protect the mail messenger from storms, etc. Subsequently, mail cars were made and attached to passenger trains.

In building the embankment for the road bed through the village the earth was taken from the excavation of the hydraulic ditch below the lower drop to the river, as these two projects were being constructed about the same years—from 1833 to 1836. Michael F. Myers of Fort Herkimer, (father of Mrs. A. H. Prescott of Herkimer, and Mr. Robert Myers of Mohawk), had the contract for the excavation by the hydraulic company and delivery to the line of the railroad.

For a number of years the village did not receive much benefit from having the railroad pass through, until it commenced to carry freight, as everything had to be freighted by canal in summer and by teaming in winter; consequently Mohawk and Little Falls were the ship-

ing centers in the county, and had the advantage of trade to the building up of those places.

MICHAEL HOFFMAN.

Michael Hoffman was another of the noted citizens of Herkimer village. He was in those days considered authority on political matters pertaining to the Democratic party. During the years in which the two great parties were struggling for supremacy he was the champion of free trade, against the Whigs for protection. And whenever at political gatherings Michael Hoffman's voice was heard it generally swayed the multitude and carried conviction to "doubting Thomases" by his logical and convincing arguments.

JEFFERSON DAVIS VISITS HERKIMER.

He was a member of Congress from 1825 to 1833, and during his terms as congressman he formed the acquaintance of Jefferson Davis, (of Southern Confederacy fame), and afterward Mr. Davis paid a visit to Judge Hoffman—about the year 1835—and his law office, on the same premises, near his residence on the corner, (and now owned by Dr. Pryne), was the place of their meeting and social converse. What subjects were talked of perhaps were never put on record, but presume the subject of secession was not one of the topics, although Mr. Davis may then have held the idea that the south would eventually take this step. He then being a slaveholder, his interests were with the slaveholding states. And when the uprising took place in 1861 he was chosen their leader, with the results that have passed into history, about thirty years after this visit to Mr. Hoffman.

So to-day Herkimer's Main street with all its changes and demolition still holds intact this one of its "old landmarks," and it should be preserved as a relic of the "by-gone days" of the village. Mr. Hoffman always wore clothes made from steel gray broadcloth which gave him the sobriquet the "old iron gray." This was his only garb at home and abroad.

The family group consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Hoffman, three sons and one daughter. The oldest son, Phocian, was a

successful lawyer in Buffalo for a number of years. The other two boys, Michael and James, were finely educated business men. The daughter, Margaret, was a life long invalid and sole survivor in Herkimer for many years.

THE HERKIMER PRESS.

The first paper published in Herkimer village was under the proprietorship of one Benjamin Cory, who commenced the publication about the year 1800, under the title of *The Telescope*, and his successor was David Holt, in 1805, who issued a paper known as the *Farmers' Monitor*, which was published by him until 1807. Subsequently Mr. Cory started another paper in the interest of the federal party, and named it the *Herkimer Pelican*, which was published until 1810. The fourth paper was established in the same year by J. H. & H. Prentice, called the *Herkimer American*. During its publication by them it passed into the hands of Edward P. Seymour, who conducted it until 1831. In 1810 one G. G. Phinney started a paper known by the title of *Bunker Hill*. It had for its motto: "Live free or die—death is not the greatest of all evils," which was published about two years, and then he edited another sheet, the title being: "*The Honest American*." Both ceased being published by 1821.

In 1828 the *Herkimer Herald* made its appearance, under the direction of John Carpenter, which was conducted in the interest of General Andrew Jackson. And later (coming within the memory of the writer, in 1830,) the *Republican Farmers' Free Press* was started for the purpose of waging war on masonry. It was owned by an association, printed by David Holt and edited by one B. B. Hotchkiss, and shortly went the way of all the preceding papers. Next came the *Herkimer County Journal* in 1837, a whig paper, whose editor was John C. Underwood, and printed by Edward P. Seymour; and subsequently O. A. Rowe took charge and published it about six years, when he relinquished its publication and started an abolition paper at Little Falls, called the *Herkimer Freeman*, which he

published about six years, in the interest of the anti-slavery cause, but not meeting his expectations he discontinued it, and in 1850 removed to Mohawk and published a village paper called the *Mohawk Times*. A few changes occurred after this with the papers printed in Herkimer up to 1850, when C. C. Witherstine became interested in the publication of a paper formerly started at Frankfort Village, called the *Frankfort Democrat*, which was afterwards removed to Herkimer village, which was conducted by J. M. Lyon. He was succeeded by R. Earl in 1848, who took C. C. Witherstine into partnership about 1850. Then about 1854 he sold his interest to Mr. Witherstine. About 1859 Mr. Witherstine sold out to H. G. Crouch, and four or five years later he again re-purchased the paper and conducted it until 1875, when he associated with him his son, H. P. Witherstine, and the *Herkimer Democrat* is still issued by them in the interest of the democratic party.

The *CITIZEN* was first published September 30, 1884, as a semi-weekly paper, in connection with the *CITIZEN* at Ilion, both papers being printed at Ilion. Charles S. Munger being the editor of the Herkimer edition and George W. Weaver of the Ilion edition. October 30, 1885, the name was changed to the Herkimer *CITIZEN*, and since then it has been published as a weekly, on Tuesdays. January 1, 1889, Arthur T. Smith and Francis E. Easton purchased Mr. Weaver's half interest in the two papers, forming the *CITIZEN Publishing Company*. Messrs. Munger and Smith are the editors in charge of the Herkimer *CITIZEN*, and it is the leading republican journal of the county, having a very able corps of correspondents and being an up-to-date and influential weekly.

The *Herkimer Record* was founded in 1888 by G. W. Nellis, jr., and is now published by the *Herkimer Record Company*. It is an eight-page weekly, bright and newsy; issued every Wednesday, independent in politics, and has a large circulation.

FIRST FIRE DEPARTMENT.

Herkimer's first fire department was organized about the year 1839, soon after the extensive fire in 1838, which consumed about all the business places in the village. Previous to this there was no means to extinguish fires, only by the citizens forming two bucket lines to the nearest well, one to pass the full buckets of water, the other to pass back the empty ones; and if the fire was too far advanced it had to burn to a finish, as was the case at the burning of the old court house, jail and Presbyterian church, in January, 1834. This fire was started by the prisoners in one of the cells, with the idea (as they afterward stated) of gaining their liberty during the excitement it might make. Having set fire to papers stuffed into the cracks of the walls, which soon communicated to the dry timber and floor of the court room above, as the prison walls were made of heavy hewn timbers, and having shrunk sufficient for this purpose. After the fire was well under way they thought their chances of being cremated alive better than making their escape caused them to cry fire, which frustrated their plan of escape, and they were safely transferred to other and safe quarters. The church on the opposite side of the street took fire from cinders blown from the court house, which lodged on the roof, and the water pail brigade was of no use. It was a grand but sad sight to witness the burning of the church steeple, as the fire commenced on the roof near the steeple, which was in flames before the body of the church. In the belfry was the finest toned bell in the country, and was said to contain a large portion of silver in its make-up. It was entirely destroyed, being melted after it fell with the burning timber of belfry and steeple.

In the early days of the village the owners of houses were required (pursuant to an ordinance passed by the trustees) to keep in some convenient place fire buckets made of leather, the number determined by the number of stories high the houses were, one being required for each story. They were made to hold

about twelve quarts. It was not until 1841 that an efficient fire department was formed, when the new hand fire engine was purchased, and at a meeting of the trustees of the village there was selected some sixty-five or seventy men to serve as firemen. Two companies were formed. I can name but five who are now living and could answer to the old roll call: James A. Suiter, Warren Caswell, Hubbard H. Morgan, Peter F. Bellinger and the writer.

Subsequently a hook and ladder company was formed. Previous to there being any organized fire company and chief to give direction at fires the man that had the strongest lungs and could yell the loudest was conceded "master of ceremonies" in giving directions, whether they were right or wrong.

SLAVERY IN HERKIMER.

It may seem a little surprising to the present inhabitants that any of the old Herkimerites once held slaves, but there were several of the old-timers who

owned slaves, who, perhaps, were not considered as being on the same plane with the slave owners of the south, but held them as personal property, just the same. Esq. Michael Myers, Dr. Doolittle and Alfred Putnam each had one, and when any one of them became intractable and thought they deserved more punishment than they got with the rawhide they put them in the dungeon hole under the old jail over night. This, together with the tragedy of Perry, the wife murderer, who committed suicide by cutting his throat with a razor in one of the old jail cells, made it a famous corner, which the boys shunned after dark.

In conclusion, I would say there may be many things of interest I have not touched upon relating to the historic old town and its people during the period I have sketched, but must close, fearing to worry your patience by adding more, which may be of interest only to the survivors of those "by-gone days."

THE MOHAWK RIVER IN HISTORY.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, September 8, 1896.

The Mohawk river is about one hundred and fifty miles long. It rises in the southern part of Lewis county, and runs southerly to Rome, and thence easterly, emptying into the Hudson river in four channels—at Waterford, Lansingburg and Troy, descending from Rome about four hundred and twenty feet to tide-water. At Rome it runs near to Wood creek, which empties into Oneida lake. It is several feet higher than the creek, and in times of very great floods its waters sometimes overflowed and ran into the creek; and thus a portion of its waters would pass through the Hudson to the ocean, and another portion through Oneida Lake, the Oswego river into Lake Ontario, and thence through the River St. Lawrence to the ocean. Between two of the channels through which it discharges its water into the Hudson lies Van Schaick's Island, which is about two miles long and half a mile wide. It was upon this island that General Schuyler, in 1777, took a position with his troops just before they advanced to meet General Burgoyne, and fought the battle which did more than any other to achieve our national independence.

On the borders of the river are the cities of Rome, Utica, Little Falls, Amsterdam, Schenectady and Cohoes, and several beautiful and flourishing vil-

lages. It traverses a most fertile valley, which is famed for its beauty in many lands. It has found a place in song and fiction, as well as in history. The poet Moore saw and admired it on his trip through the valley in 1804, and he wrote:

"From rise of morn till set of sun
I've seen the mighty Mohawk run;
And as I marked the woods of pine
Along his mirror darkly shine,
Like tall and gloomy forms that pass
Before the wizard's midnight glass;
And as I viewed the hurrying pace
With which he ran his turbid race,
Rushing alike untired and wild
Through shades that frowned and flowers
that smiled,
Flying by every green recess
That wooed him to its calm caress,
Yet sometimes turning with the wind
As if to leave one look behind,
O! I have thought, and thinking, sighed
How like thee, thou restless tide,
May be the lot, the life of him
Who roams along thy watery brim."

It was the highway of the Iroquois Indians long before the white man saw its waters. They used it in their forays upon other Indian tribes residing in the eastern part of the state, upon Long Island, in New Jersey and New England. These dusky warriors, in their war paint, as they paddled their light canoes, their lithe forms swaying to and fro to the cadence of song, must have been quite picturesque; and we can imagine how, with their wild war whoop, they awak-

ened the responsive echoes of the primeval forests.

It is impossible now to say who was the first white man that saw the Mohawk river. It may have been some one of the *Couriers de Bois*, or of the Jesuit missionaries who entered the territory of the Iroquois from Canada. Father Jogues saw it first in 1643 and again in 1646, when he suffered martyrdom on the banks of the Mohawk at Caughnawaga, Montgonery county. The Dutch from Albany may have gone, and probably did go, into the Mohawk country, in pursuit of trade with the Indians, earlier than any other white men.

Among the earliest Indian traders was Arndt Van Curler, who founded Schenectady in 1661, where there was already an Indian village. By his honesty and tact he acquired the confidence and friendship of the Indians, and he had great influence with them. They called him "Brother Corlear," and after him they named Schenectady "Corlear," and the Mohawk river the "River of Corlear." He was subsequently drowned in Lake Champlain, and then they called that lake "Corlear's lake," and they had such respect for him that they subsequently called the colonial governors "Corlear." They were a confiding, truthful race, and the men who, like Peter Schuyler, called by them "Quidder," and Van Curler and Sir William Johnson, who were truthful and honest with them, always had great influence over them.

Johnson first entered the Mohawk valley in 1738, and as there were then no roads, he undoubtedly passed up the river in a canoe. He traded extensively with the Indians, and met them on a footing of equality. He painted, ate and dressed like them, and he played their games with them, and he finally took into the relations of a wife Mollie Brant, the sister of the great Indian chief. He built a stone house, called Johnson Hall, which is still standing at Akin, on the north side of the New York Central railroad, where he frequently feasted the Indians and held councils with them. In going to and from the

hall, the Indians traveled in their canoes upon the river.

In 1722 William Burnett, the governor of this state, built a fort at Oswego for the purpose of facilitating trade with the Indians, and in 1723 the Indians went from there to Albany with fifty-seven canoes loaded with 738 packs of beaver and deer skins, passing up the Oswego river to Oneida lake, and thence through the lake and Wood creek, and over a short carry to the Mohawk river, and down the river to Albany. In 1746 the Six Nations, after much solicitation, went to Albany for a council with the whites. There was at that time a little jealousy and friction between the Indians, and hence the Senecas, Onondagas and Mohawks marched down on one side of the river and the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscarora's on the other side.

Johnson had the contract to victual the fort at Oswego, and all his supplies went up the river to Rome and thence over the road above mentioned to the fort.

In 1748 Johnson called an Indian council at Onondaga. He went up the Mohawk river with a guard of fifty men in batteaux loaded with provisions and presents. In April, 1757 he made his headquarters at this place, and here issued his orders to the Indian officers in his arrangements to baffle the French invaders; and here he held a council with the Indians in 1763.

In 1766, Johnson, going up the Mohawk river with batteaux loaded with presents and provisions, held a council with the great Indian chief Pontiac, and the Iroquois at Oswego, and there he brought about the peace which followed the famous Pontiac conspiracy of which the historian Parkman has written so interestingly. In August, 1767, Johnson being sick was with great solicitude taken by the Indians in a boat upon the river from Johnson hall to Schenectady, and thence he was carried by them in a litter to the High Rock Spring at Saratoga for the benefit of its medicinal waters which they recommended to him; and thus he is believed to have been the first

white man who drank the waters of that celebrated spring.

In the fall of 1768 at Fort Stanwix, Johnson held a council attended by more than three thousand Indians and by the Governors of New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and Commissioners of Virginia for the settlement with the Indians of a disputed territorial boundary; and he took with him up the Mohawk river twenty bateaux loaded with provisions and presents for the Indians. He attended other councils with the Indians at Albany, Johnson Hall, Oswego, Detroit and other places, always using the Mohawk river as the highway for the transportation of provisions and presents.

Governor Tryon came up the Mohawk river to this place in the summer of 1772, and here and at Fort Herkimer reviewed the militia, and we may well believe that the sturdy Germans in the presence of their Governor made a fine display of martial ardor and soldierly proficiency and aptitude. In June 1775 a council was held at this place with the Oneidas and Tuscaroras to secure their neutrality in the war, and they promised neutrality. On the 16th day of August, 1775, there was a council at this place with several sachems of the Six Nations to induce them to attend a grand council to be held at Albany; and on the 31st of August such a council, the last before the close of the Revolutionary War, was held in Albany. The object of these councils was to keep the Indians from joining the British in the war. In the spring of 1775, there was raised on the banks of the Mohawk at Fort Herkimer, the first liberty pole erected in this state outside of the city of New York, and subsequently Mr. White, sheriff of Tryon county, came with a company of militia from Johnstown, and cut it down as witnessing a rebellious spirit.

In January 1776, General Herkimer ordered out the militia of Tryon county to head off some expected raid of Sir John Johnson, and they were paraded on the ice of the Mohawk river at Fonda.

When the militia of Tryon county marched to the battle of Oriskany, their baggage went up the river in boats.

After that battle, the British with their Tory and Indian allies continued to invest Fort Stanwix, and it was feared that with their superior numbers they might take the fort; and alarm was felt throughout the Mohawk valley, that after taking the fort, they might sweep down the valley and spread disaster and death everywhere. General Benedict Arnold was then, in August 1777, dispatched to the relief of the fort, with twelve hundred continental soldiers and some militia from this locality. His baggage and provisions were carried in bateaux on the river, guarded by troops. He went up about ten miles west of this place and the besiegers hearing of his approach abandoned the siege and fled.

In 1778, the Six Nations perpetrated the massacre of Wyoming which has been so pathetically described in history and song, ravaged portions of Schoharie county, burned Cherry Valley and Springfield in Otsego county, and Andrustown and the German settlement here in this county, killing and scalping men and women and taking prisoners; and they made other savage raids. Then in 1779, it was resolved in congress and advised by the commander-in-chief that a military force should be sent into the heart of the country occupied by the Six Nations to chastise them in their homes; and General Sullivan was selected to command the expedition. The soldiers detached for this service marched in two divisions—one starting from Easton, in Pennsylvania, under the immediate command of Sullivan, and the other starting from New York under General James Clinton, brother of Governor George Clinton, and father of Governor DeWitt Clinton. The latter division came up the Mohawk river, conveying their baggage in more than two hundred bateaux to Canajoharie. There General Clinton dispatched a portion of his force under Colonel Van Schaick, Lieutenant Colonel Willlet and Major Cockran up the Mohawk river for the invasion of the country of the Onondagas. The remainder of his force left the Mohawk river at Canajoharie taking their boats with them on

wagons through Springfield to the head of Otsego Lake, four horses being required to draw one boat. There they put their boats upon the lake and went down the lake to its outlet and then into and down the Susquehanna river, and joined General Sullivan.

Fort Stanwix, in the later years of its existence called Fort Schuyler, was destroyed by fire and water in May 1781; and the garrison then came here. In February 1783 soldiers under Colonel Willet were gathered at Fort Herkimer, and from that place they started on an expedition to surprise and capture the British fort at Oswego. The expedition failed from various causes, which need not be mentioned here.

The supplies and military equipments for all the forts along the Mohawk valley were transported in boats upon the river.

Before the revolutionary war, Albany was the greatest mart on this continent for the sale of furs. There the Six Nations took their furs, and they dominated nearly all the Indians east of the Mississippi river. They paddled their canoes as far west as Dakota, as far north as Hudson's Bay, and south to the Chesapeake Bay and even to the Gulf of Mexico. Such was the fame of the Albany fur market that even the Sioux from Dakota came there with their furs; and all this traffic passed up and down the Mohawk river.

When the Palatines came to this region from Schoharie, they came to the Mohawk river at or near Canajoharie, and thence conveyed their goods up the river in boats; and before the revolutionary war, there was no other feasible way for the transportation of goods, as there were no good roads on either side of the river.

The dusky Indians frequently paddled their friends Quidder, Corlear and Johnson, upon the waters of the Mohawk, enlivening the weary hours with song and war whoop; and what a scene along the river was presented to the early white travelers thereon! Fish were abundant. Now and then they would see a field of corn in the valley, and the lopes on either

side were covered with unbroken forests. The bear, wolf, elk, deer, panther, beaver and other wild animals would occasionally come in sight, and the lurking savage would now and then disclose his form. They would pass Indian castles at Auriesville, Tribe's Hill, Caughnawaga, Canajoharie, Fort Plain and in Danube in this county.

In July, 1783, hostilities between Great Britain and the United States had ceased; but the definitive treaty of peace had not yet arrived, and the army had not been disbanded. Washington's headquarters were at Newburgh, and finding his situation there from various causes irksome, he resolved to visit some of the places made famous during the war; and it was determined that Governor George Clinton should accompany him. They started from Newburgh and went up to Albany, and from thence to Lake George, Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and then they returned to Schenectady, whence they proceeded up the valley of the Mohawk "to have a view," as Washington wrote a friend, "of that tract of country which is so much celebrated for the fertility of its soil and the beauty of its situation." They stopped at Fort Herkimer and Fort Dayton and other places of interest along the river, and went as far west as Fort Schuyler and Wood creek. There they turned southerly to the Susquehanna river and Otsego lake, and again reached the Mohawk valley at Canajoharie, passing through Springfield and Cherry Valley; and then they returned to Newburgh, after an absence of about three weeks, and after traveling in all about seven hundred and fifty miles, mostly on horseback and through forests. We learn from Washington's correspondence that during this journey the advantages of inland navigation for the opening of communication between the Hudson river and the great lakes dawned upon his practical and sagacious mind. Several places along the Mohawk river are still pointed out where he stopped for rest or refreshment.

The waters of the Mohawk were used for the last time for the purpose of an

Indian council in 1788, when Governor George Clinton and other state officials held a treaty at Fort Stanwix with the Six Nations for the purpose of extinguishing their title to the western part of this state. The occasion was a very interesting one, and the scene at the fort, where hundreds of Indians had assembled, fantastically decorated and clothed, was very picturesque and striking. The French Ambassador and the Marchioness de Bison came there from New York city to gratify their curiosity.

The navigation of the river was greatly impeded by the falls in the town of Little Falls, and by the rift therein near Fort Herkimer, called Wolf's rift, and by the distance between the Mohawk and the navigable water of Wood creek, which, after the creek was cleared out, was about a mile. At these points the boats and freight would have to be carried with great labor on land or drawn by oxen and horses past the obstacles, and thus much valuable time was lost and great expense incurred. These obstacles to navigation were so annoying that soon after the revolutionary war plans were discussed and considered for canals and locks to overcome them. Elkanah Watson and General Schuyler, were the principal pioneers in this movement. The latter was a member of the state senate in 1791, and upon the committee to inquire what obstructions to navigation there were in the Hudson and Mohawk rivers and how they might be removed. In the same year, on the 24th of March, the act concerning roads and inland navigation, and for other purposes, was passed. Among other things it directed the commissioners of the land office to explore and survey the ground between the Mohawk river and Wood creek, and to estimate the probable expense of the construction of a canal between those two streams. In January, 1792, the commissioners made a favorable report. On the 30th of March, in that year, an act was passed "For establishing and opening lock navigation within the state." Its preamble was as follows:

WHEREAS. A communication by water between the southern, northern and Western parts of this state will encourage agriculture, promote commerce and facilitate a general intercourse between the citizens.

The act provided for the incorporation of two companies, one of which, called the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, was for the purpose of the opening of lock navigation from the Hudson river to Lake Ontario and the Seneca lake through the Mohawk valley. General Schuyler was the principal promoter of the act, as he was of the company organized under it. The company, finding no suitable engineer in this country for the proposed work, procured one from England by the name of Weston, who made a survey from tide-water at Troy through the Mohawk valley to Rome, thence down Wood creek, Oneida lake and the Oswego river to Lake Ontario at Oswego. He reported the results of his survey to the company, with estimates of the cost of the proposed locks and canals. The company, shortly after this report, commenced three small canals. The first was at Little Falls, to pass around the falls there, on the north side of the river, and that was completed about 1798. It was a little less than one mile long, had five locks, and depth of water for boats carrying from twelve to fifteen tons. The second canal was between Fort Herkimer and Jacksonburgh, and was built there so that boats could pass around Wolf's rift. It had two locks and was over a mile long. The third canal was at Rome, to connect the Mohawk river with Wood creek. It was over one mile long and had two locks. It was supplied with water from the Mohawk through a feeder about a mile long. Several dams and locks were erected in Wood creek to facilitate the descent and ascent of boats. The locks in these canals were first made of wood, but were rebuilt of stone in 1804. These canals and locks were completed as early as 1802. They cost about \$450,000, of which the state, under the act for their construction, contributed \$92,000.

By means of these canals boats were enabled to ascend the Mohawk river as

high as Rome, and thence through Wood creek, Oneida lake and Oswego river to Lake Ontario at Oswego. Then, as the central and western parts of the state were fast filling up with population, the Mohawk river became for that period a great highway of trade and commerce. Three kinds of boats were in use, but the favorite was the Schenectady boat, called the Durham boat, a broad, shallow scow, about fifty feet long, steered by a sweep oar forty feet long, and pushed up-stream mainly by man power. There were some places along the banks of the river where the boats could be pulled up by horses, hired of the neighboring farmers and of others who supplied horses for that purpose. All practical methods were resorted to for moving the boats upon the river—such as punting, pushing, pulling, sailing and floating. When the river was full generally ten tons was a load, and when the water was low three tons only could be carried. At places where the stream, in the dry season, was likely to be but a few inches deep, or where a ledge of rocks barred the way, low stone walls were built out from each bank until they almost met in the channel, and thus a depth of water was secured for the passage of the boats. When the boats reached Utica, which was then a thriving town of two hundred houses, the freight was sorted, and goods for the salt works were thence taken west through the river, Wood creek, Oneida lake, Onondaga river and Seneca river to a swampy creek which led to Onondaga lake, on the high banks of which stood Salina, a place then containing about fifty houses, where the sole business was the manufacture of salt. Some of the salt manufactured there was taken east over the route above mentioned, and some of it found its way by water to Lake Ontario, and thence partly by water and partly by land to the western parts of this state, to places on the lakes and to what was then a great market, Pittsburg. In the year 1817 there was a light and commodious passenger boat upon the river making regular trips. The trip from Utica to Schenectady was

considered rapid and agreeable, but the return was so slow and tedious that passengers did not incline to take the boat for that purpose. But there were boats upon the river carrying passengers much earlier than that. Commodore Perry won his famous victory over the English on Lake Erie in August, 1813. In October thereafter he resigned the naval command of the upper lakes and repaired to the seaboard in November, where he was put in command of a new frigate. On his way from the west to the east he passed down the Mohawk river in a boat. He was at the time a national hero and the country was full of his praise and of enthusiasm for his heroic deeds. As he passed Schenectady, the professors and students of Union college assembled on the banks of the river to welcome and greet this popular idol.

The company was authorized by its act of incorporation to charge tolls for the use of its canals and locks for navigation between the Hudson river and Lakes Seneca and Ontario, not exceeding "in the whole the sum of twenty-five dollars for every ton of the burthen of such boat or vessel, and so in proportion for every one hundred feet cubic measure of timber and one thousand feet board measure of boards, plank or scantling, and so in proportion for any similar distance and less number of locks in any interval between the said river and lakes."

These canals and locks were used until near the completion of the Erie canal, when about the year 1823 they passed into the ownership and possession of the state, under the act of 1817, authorizing the construction of the Erie canal, which act required the state to take and pay for them. Then the state constructed an aqueduct at Little Falls across the river, and used the old canal as a feeder for the Erie canal; and in 1841, in the enlargement of the Erie canal, a feeder was constructed on the south side of the river at Little Falls, through which water has since been drawn for the supply of the Erie canal.

The Mohawk river possesses a quality unusual with the inland fresh water rivers of this state, and that is that its bed belongs to the state, and that the riparian owners only take title to the margin of the river. It was so decided by the highest court of the state in 1865. (People vs. Canal Appraisers, 33 N. Y., 461)

It is a curious incident connected with the Mohawk river that in 1797 (chapter 60 of the laws of that year,) out of certain monies authorized to be raised by lotteries for public improvements, General Michael Myers, Gaylord Griswold, John Frank and Michael Edick were authorized to receive four hundred dollars for the purpose of reimbursing them for money expended by them in building a bridge over the river at this place, where the lower river bridge now is; and out of the same money John Post, Nathan Smith and Isaac Brayton were authorized to receive a similar sum to reimburse them for that sum by them expended in erecting a bridge over the Mohawk river at Utica, called in the act "Old Fort Schuyler." The bridges thus built were probably, with the exception of one built below the Cohoes falls, the

earliest bridges spanning the Mohawk river. There was no bridge across the river where the upper river bridge between this village and Mohawk now is, until about the year 1816.

Since 1823 the river has ceased to be navigated, and it has been used only as a feeder for the Erie canal and for its water power at Little Falls and Cohoes. The fish have mostly disappeared from its waters, and the march of civilization has driven far away the wild beasts that in the last century used to be seen upon its banks. Well tilled farms along its borders have taken the place of the unbroken forests, and the shrill screech of the steam whistle has supplanted the war whoop of the savage. It no longer carries the burden of trade and commerce. Its waters move sluggishly along, unmindful of the important part they once played in the history of the state. They have ceased to make history, and except for the uses above mentioned and for other purposes of no greater importance they serve only to awaken the echoes of the past and to furnish topics of interest to the student of history.

HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, October 13, 1896.

The disposition of property by chance or lot is probably nearly as old as organized human society. We find traces of it in the most ancient writings. Among the children of Israel, land was awarded by lot. In Athens, long before the Christian era, not only property, but public offices were disposed of by lot. Lotteries in some form existed in ancient Rome; and in the middle ages great merchants in Italy and other places disposed of their wares by lotteries.

Lotteries were first established in France in 1539; and in 1700, Louis the XIV established a lottery by an edict sounding very strange to us of this generation, which ran as follows: "His Majesty having noticed the natural inclination of his subjects to vest their money in private lotteries, and desiring to afford them an agreeable and easy means of procuring for themselves a sure and considerable revenue for the rest of their lives, and even of enriching their families by investing sums so small that they cannot cause them any inconvenience, has judged it opportune to establish at the Hotel de Ville at Paris, a royal lottery. We can easily imagine how by such language "the natural inclination" of the great King's subjects to gambling was fostered and stimulated, and how the hopes raised among thousands and even millions of his subjects

were disastrously disappointed. The evils from such gambling were so great that on November 2nd, 1793, when the French people were dominant, the revolutionary convention abolished lotteries "as an invention of despotism to make men silent about their miseries and enslave them with a hope which aggravates their distress." Some years later lotteries were revived in France for the purpose of raising public revenue, and under the Bourbons, from 1816 to 1828, the government derived from them an annual revenue of ninety-four million francs. A few years later, in 1836, they were suppressed there, and immediately it was found that the deposits in savings banks largely increased.

The first lottery in England was established in 1569, and the profits were to be devoted to the repair of harbors and other public works. Not fearing the desecration of a religious edifice thereby, the drawing took place at the west door of St. Paul's cathedral. In 1612 a lottery was drawn there to aid the Virginia company, and subsequently to found the British museum and to build the Westminster bridge. Now and then a feeble voice was raised against lotteries, and in 1819 and subsequently, the agitation against them became so pronounced that in 1826 they were suppressed by an act of Parliament.

Lotteries are still maintained on the continent of Europe for the purposes of revenue, and are attempted to be justified on the untenable and sophistical theory that, as the people have an irresistible inclination to this kind of gambling, they had better be under governmental control and yield revenue for the public good. According to the most recent statistics available to me, Prussia now receives from lotteries an annual revenue of about ten millions marks, Austria over forty million crowns, Italy over seventy five million lire and Spain seventy-five million pesetas. Indeed all the modern states have in some period of their history employed lotteries as a means of revenue, and during the middle ages the church used them to build cathedrals.

They came to this country from Europe and when the people were poor; they were in all the older states the most efficient measures for raising revenue for all kinds of public purposes—such as building and founding schools of learning, building roads, bridges, docks, court houses, jails, and houses for the sick and poor, for the repair of churches, the establishment of founderies and glass works and for digging canals. In the latter part of the last century and early in this, Massachusetts, by lotteries, encouraged cotton spinning, paid the salaries of various public officers, and increased the library of Harvard college. Connecticut authorized lotteries for erecting some of the buildings of Yale college, and by a federal lottery a hotel was built in the city of Washington, and the hotel itself was the principal prize.

The agitation against lotteries began in this country about the same time it began in England, and the result was that state after state passed laws prohibiting them, until now they are suppressed by law in all the states. Louisiana and Kentucky being the last states to maintain them. So earnest have the people become in their determination to suppress them that in most of the states they are condemned by Constitutional provisions.

I have written so much as a brief in-

roduction to the history of lotteries in this state.

In the early days of the colony of New York, lotteries were not regulated by law, and private lotteries operated without the sanction of law were not uncommon. Tickets in foreign lotteries were also sold, and all kinds of property were disposed of by some schemes of chance. By an act passed July 27, 1721, the disposition of goods by lottery or chance was prohibited "as pernicious to trade," it not yet having dawned upon the minds of the statesmen of that day that they were still more pernicious in many other ways. So scrupulous were the law makers that they exempted from the operation of that act the lottery of William Lake, which had previously been licensed. Prior to 1754 the colonial government had granted to Columbia college by lotteries \$8,609.75. By the act of November 25, 1747, private lotteries were prohibited with a preamble as follows: "Whereas, several persons of late, have set on foot and operated private lotteries within this colony, which, being under no restrictions by law, are attended with pernicious consequences to the public, by encouraging numbers of laboring people to assemble together at taverns, where such lotteries are usually set on foot and drawn, for remedy whereof, Be it enacted," etc. It was not the rich, or the capitalists, or the well-to-do who gathered at these taverns to gamble in lottery tickets. The poor, the laboring people, gathered there; and so it has been the world over. Lotteries tempt the poor rather than the rich, and therefore moneys which were raised by lotteries for all kinds of purposes came out of those who were least able to bear the loss.

By the act of December 24, 1759, foreign lotteries were prohibited under the following preamble: "Whereas, the selling and disposing of tickets taken out of lotteries erected and schemed in the neighboring colonies (which several persons have of late set on foot and practiced) have been found manifestly prejudicial and of pernicious consequence to the inhabitants of this colony, for pre-

vention thereof for the future, Be it enacted," etc. By the act of March 22, 1772, "More effectually to prevent private lotteries," the preamble was as follows: "Whereas, the laws now in being for the suppression of private lotteries have been found ineffectual to answer the salutary purposes intended by the legislature in enacting the same; and, Whereas, many mischievous consequences have been experienced from this practice, which has proved highly prejudicial to trade, has occasioned idleness and inattention to business, been productive of fraud and imposition, and has given birth to a dangerous spirit of gaming, for remedy whereof and to suppress a practice which may be attended with distress, impoverishment and ruin to many families, Be it enacted," etc. "That all lotteries other than such as are authorized by the legislature, are common and public nuisances." That act does not seem to have been altogether effectual, and so the act, chapter 17 of 1774, was passed, "An act for the more effectual prevention of private lotteries," and substantially the same preamble was attached thereto. That act required all judges in charging grand juries to call their attention to the provisions of the act and the violations of them, and severe penalties and forfeitures were imposed for such violations, not only upon persons selling lottery tickets, but also upon persons purchasing them or in any way interested in them.

By chapter 33 of the laws of 1778 authority was given to raise money by means of a lottery towards rebuilding the court house and jails in the county of Ulster, as follows: "Whereas, the court house and jails in the county of Ulster were destroyed by the enemy on the sixteenth day of October last; to the end, therefore, that the inhabitants of the said county may be assisted with moneys towards rebuilding the same, be it enacted," etc. "That the judges of the inferior court of common pleas and the supervisors of the county of Ulster may, by way of lottery, raise a sum not exceeding £2,000, to be applied towards rebuilding the court house and jails of

the said county, any law of this state to the contrary notwithstanding." Our sense of fitness and congruity is somewhat shocked that the legislature should sanction the worst form of gambling to build court houses and jails.

Then came chapter 12 of the laws of 1783: "An act to prevent private lotteries, to remit certain penalties, and to repeal the acts therein mentioned," and the preamble was as follows: "Whereas, experience has proved that private lotteries occasion idleness and dissipation, and have been productive of frauds and impositions, Be it therefore enacted," etc. All private lotteries were declared nuisances, and prohibited under severe penalties imposed not only on the vendors of tickets, but upon the purchasers, and all justices of peace, bailiffs, sheriffs, mayors, etc., were directed and required, by all lawful ways and means, to prevent and suppress the lotteries prohibited by the act. But this show of virtuous indignation in the strong language used excites less of our admiration when we read the seventh section of the act, as follows: "That all offenses against an act entitled 'An act for the more effectual prevention of private lotteries,' passed on the 9th day of March, 1774, committed since the 4th day of July, 1776 and not hitherto presented or indicted by the grand jury are hereby pardoned: and all penalties and forfeitures thereby incurred are remitted; and the said act, except as to such person or persons against whom presentment or presentments, indictment or indictments have been presented, is hereby repealed. And that as to all such person or persons against whom presentment or presentments, indictment or indictments have been preferred, for which offenses judgment remains to be rendered, such court to which such indictment or presentment was preferred, shall and may at a future session of such court discharge the offender or offenders on his, her or their paying the cost of prosecution respectively; and for neglect of payment of the cost of prosecution, that such court before whom such offender is indicted, do commit such of-

fenders respectively to the common jail of the county until they shall respectively have paid the costs of the prosecution; and that all former laws of this state respecting lotteries be, and the same are hereby repealed." Some big fish must have been caught in the net of the law to induce this enactment. It may be noticed as a matter of some significance, that the penalties and forfeitures remitted were those incurred after the Declaration of Independence, and during the active pendency of the war of the revolution.

By chapter 8 of the laws of 1790 authority was given, with a preamble, to the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the city of New York, to raise by lottery the sum of £13,000 for the purpose therein mentioned, as follows: "Whereas, the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the city of New York, by their petition presented to the legislature, that from a desire to accommodate the congress of the United States in the most convenient and satisfactory manner they have not only expended in repairing and improving the city hall such money as has been heretofore raised for this purpose, but are also indebted in the farther sum of £13,000 on this account, a sum far beyond their power to discharge without legislative aid, and have prayed that a law might be passed to authorize the raising of the said money by one or more lotteries. And whereas, the residence of the congress in this city is not only beneficial to the said city but to the inhabitants of this state at large. Therefore be it enacted, etc., "That it shall and may be lawful for the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the city of New York to raise a sum not exceeding £13,000 by one or more lotteries to be made for this purpose, and to apply the proceeds thereof to the discharge of the aforesaid debt by them incurred in repairing and improving the aforesaid city hall for the purposes aforesaid."

Chapter 51 of the laws of 1795 is an act with a preamble as follows: "Whereas, the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the city of New York, by their petition, have represented to the legisla-

ture that the buildings appropriated for the reception of the poor and indigent inhabitants of the said city are so decayed that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to accommodate, with any degree of comfort, those persons whose unfortunate lot it may be to be placed therein during the ensuing winter; and that they have, with the moneys raised by tax on the said city, provided a considerable quantity of materials for the purpose of erecting a new building, but by reason of the expensive and necessary annual improvements in the said city since the late war, which have been borne by the inhabitants thereof with great cheerfulness, it would be too great a burden on them to raise the monies which will be required for the erection of this necessary building by an immediate tax, and have, therefore, prayed that a law may be passed to authorize them to raise a sum not exceeding £10,000 by lottery.

And, whereas, the said city, from its situation, is necessarily the receptacle of a greater proportion of paupers than any other city or county within this state, and the erection of such a building in the said city would be highly beneficial to the same, and it is but just and reasonable, that, considering the great burdens heretofore borne by the said inhabitants for the improvement of the said city, that relief should be offered to the said city in the manner prayed for. Therefore, be it enacted, etc., "That it shall and may be lawful for the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the city of New York to raise a sum not exceeding £10,000 by a lottery to be drawn for that purpose, and to apply the proceeds thereof to the discharge of the expenses to arise for the erection of the said building." Thus a form of gambling which made paupers was authorized for their relief.

Chapter 60 of the laws of 1797 is an act with a preamble for opening and improving certain great roads within this state, and is as follows: "Whereas, it is highly necessary that direct communications be opened and improved between the western, northern and southern parts

of this state. Therefore, be it enacted," etc.:

"That, for the purpose of opening and improving the said communications, the managers hereinafter named shall cause to be raised by three successive lotteries of equal value the sum of \$45,000. That out of the net proceeds of the first lottery the sum of \$11,700, and out of the net proceeds of the third lottery the further sum of \$2,200 shall be and hereby is appropriated for opening and improving the road commonly called the Great Genesee road, in all its extent from Old Fort Schuyler, in the county of Herkimer, to Geneva, in the county of Ontario."

"That out of the net proceeds of the second lottery the sum of \$11,675 shall be and hereby is appropriated for improving the great road leading from the city of Albany to the bridge erected over the Mohawk river below the Cohoes falls, thence to Waterford; and also to improve the road leading from the ferry at Troy to Lansingburgh, and thence by such road through the counties of Rensselaer and Washington," etc. That the sum of \$3,000, part of the net proceeds of the said second lottery, shall be and hereby is appropriated for opening and improving a road from Cooperstown, in the county of Otsego, or from the town of Cherry Valley, as the commissioner or commissioners in his or their discretion, shall deem most beneficial to the community at large, and from either to intersect the Great Genesee road as near as conveniently may be to the outlet of Skeneateles Lake." "That out of the net proceeds of the said third lottery the further sum of \$6,510 shall be and hereby is appropriated for improving the great road leading from Catskill Landing, in the county of Albany, to Catherines-town, in the county of Tioga." "That out of the net proceeds of the said first lottery the managers thereof shall pay to the superintendent of highways for the county of Herkimer the sum of \$500, to be by them laid out in improving the road from Fort Stanwix to the bridge erected over Fish Creek" and to other places; and out of the net proceeds of

the third lottery the managers thereof were to pay to three persons named the sum of \$490 to reimburse them for money expended in erecting a bridge over the Catskill, and to certain persons of the town of Cambridge the sum of \$325, to reimburse them for that sum expended in erecting a bridge over Hosack river; and out of the net proceeds of the first lottery the managers thereof were to pay John Post, Nathan Smith and Isaac Brayton, of the county of Herkimer, the sum of \$400 to reimburse them for that sum by them expended in erecting a bridge over the Mohawk river at Old Fort Schuyler; and to pay to Michael Myer, Gaylord Griswold, John Frank and Michael Ectigh, of the county of Herkimer the sum of \$400 to reimburse them for that sum expended by them in erecting a bridge over the Mohawk river at German Flatts; and to pay three persons named the sum of \$2,000 wherewith to complete the bridge already began to be erected over Schoharie creek, near Fort Hunter. Certain land damages for laying out highways in Westchester county were required to be paid out of the proceeds of the third lottery and one moiety of the residue of the proceeds of the third lottery and the residue of the proceeds of the first and second lotteries were to be paid to the superintendents of highways for the county of Westchester to be laid out in improvements on the post road leading from Croton ferry to the county of Dutchess; and the other moiety of such residue to the superintendent of highways in the county of Orange to be laid out on the places named in that county. John Taylor, Leonard Gansevoort and Daniel Hale were appointed managers for drawing, managing and superintending the lotteries which were required to be drawn in the city of Albany. This act seems to have been what is called a log-rolling measure and many interests were brought to its support. In the disposition of the lottery money this county was not overlooked and its members, among whom was Gaylord Griswold, must have assisted in the log-rolling.

Chapter 26 of the laws of 1798 is an

act supplementary to the last named act and three persons named therein were appointed additional managers for drawing, managing and superintending the lotteries and a provision was made therein for the sale of lottery tickets on credit to any person who might offer to purchase the number of twenty-five tickets or more, the managers taking such security as they should judge competent for the payment of the money for which such tickets should be sold. The legislature when they passed this act were in a benevolent mood and thus provided a way for the purchase of lottery tickets by persons who had no money, but had credit.

Having provided liberally for the improvement of land communications, the law makers did not omit to allow some gambling for the improvement of water communications and hence they passed the act, chapter 25, of the laws of 1800 making provision for improving the navigation of the Hudson river between the city of Albany and the village of Waterford by authorizing the raising by lottery of \$13,000 to be expended for that purpose; and in the same act commissioners were appointed to improve the navigation of the Hudson river between Troy and Albany and were authorized to raise \$15,000 by a lottery drawn for that purpose. And by the act chapter 157 laws of 1801 an additional sum of \$10,000 was authorized to be raised by lottery to improve the navigation of the Hudson river between the villages of Lansingburgh and Troy.

Having thus provided for travel and transportation by land and water, the cause of education and literature was not neglected and hence was passed the act, chapter 126 of the laws of 1801 for the encouragement of literature; and it was provided therein that for the promotion of literature within this state, there should be raised by four successive lotteries the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, that is, the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars by each lottery; \$12,500 of the proceeds of the lotteries were to be paid to the regents of the University

of the State of New York for the purpose of being by them distributed among such and so many of the academies as then were or might thereafter be erected in this state in such proportions and to be appropriated in such manner as they should judge most beneficial for the several academies and most advantageous to literature, and the residue into the treasury of the state to be applied in such manner for the encouragement of common schools as the legislature might from time to time direct.

The Hudson river was quite insatiable in demands for money to improve its navigation, and as it was so easy to raise money from the deluded victims of the lottery mania, a combination of various interests in the legislature secured the passage of the act chapter 48 of the laws of 1802, by which further sums were authorized to be raised by lotteries to improve the navigation of the river between Troy and Lansingburgh, between Lansingburgh and Waterford and from Albany to Nicol's creek in Bethlehem.

Having done something for the Hudson river in the supposed interest of commerce, the law makers became charitable and concluded to allow some gambling for the benefit of the poor; and hence in the same act they authorized the city of New York to raise by lottery not exceeding \$15,000 for the use and benefit of the society for the relief of poor widows with small children; and then that the whales and cod-fish might not be neglected, the managers of the lottery were required to appropriate \$5,000 for the improvement of the port of Sag Harbor for the encouragement of the whale and cod fisheries; and that the Dutchmen of Schoharie might not be obliged to wade over the Schoharie river, \$600 out of the proceeds of the lotteries were appropriated for a bridge over that river.

The time had now come when the nascent Empire State needed a Capitol and no more ready way occurred to the law makers than a lottery for that purpose; and hence by the act chapter 67 of the laws of 1804, entitled: "An act making provision for improving the Hudson river below the city of Albany, and for

other purposes," \$12,000 was authorized to be raised by lottery for the building of the capitol at Albany. Having attended to the capitol of the state, the next year the law makers took a higher flight, and by the act chapter 176 of the laws of 1805 authorized lotteries to raise \$15,000 for Union College and \$25,000 for the board of health of the city of New York, to erect a building in that city "for the accommodation of persons sick with malignant disease."

Prior to 1807 a business had grown up in this state of insuring lottery tickets. A person would buy a chance in a lottery and then, if he had any money left, would pay a further sum of money to insure that chance; and as the money thus paid went into the pockets of private individuals, an act was passed, chapter 181 of the laws of 1807, prohibiting the insurance of lottery tickets.

Down to this time the legislature in its disposition of favors through lotteries, had overlooked the medical profession, and hence the act chapter 50 of the laws of 1810, entitled: "An act for promoting medical science in the State of New York," a lottery was authorized to be drawn for the purpose of raising money to purchase on behalf of the people of the state the botanical garden near the city of New York belonging to Dr. David Hosack at a place then called Elgin. The garden was to be under the management of the Regents of the University for the medical schools of the state.

In 1810 there was more call for the improvement of the Hudson river; and as the people who desired the improvement lived near the capitol, they had easy access to the members of the legislature and could not be resisted; and hence the act, Chapter 133 of that year, entitled: "An act making provision for the improvement of the Hudson river between the villages of Troy, Lansingburg and Waterford and for other purposes" was passed by which the managers named in the last preceding act were required to raise an additional sum of \$30,000 for the improvement of the Hudson river between the places mentioned.

The money was raised and paid for the

garden and it was conveyed to the state. Subsequently in 1814 by authority of law the garden was conveyed to Columbia College on condition that the college establishment should be moved upon the land.

In the act last named the members from Herkimer county in the legislature found their opportunity, and they obtained out of the proceeds of the same lottery an appropriation of \$5,000 for the Fairfield Academy to be used by its trustees for the support of the Chemical and Anatomical school under their superintendence.

In spite of the laws condemning private lotteries, they still continued to be operated to some extent in this state; and hence in 1813 by the act, chapter 10 of that year, laws in reference to private lotteries and the insurance of lottery tickets were revised, and such lotteries were again declared to be "common and public nuisances." The preamble of the act showing the public sentiment of that day was as follows: "Whereas experience has proved that private lotteries occasion idleness and dissipation and have been productive of frauds and impositions."

Now by a combination of colleges, a very comprehensive lottery scheme was pressed upon the legislature, and it resulted in the act, Chapter 120 of the laws of 1814. Notwithstanding the well known demoralizing effects of lottery gambling, the following high sounding preamble was attached to the act: "Whereas well regulated seminaries of learning are of immense importance to every country and lead specially, by the diffusion of science and the promotion of morals, to defend and perpetuate the liberties of a free state;" and then having put on record these pious sentiments, the law makers authorized lotteries for raising \$220,000 for Union College, \$40,000 for Hamilton College, \$30,000 for the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the city of New York, \$13,000 for the Historical society and \$4,000 for the African Asbury church of the city of New York. These were, so far as I can learn, the last lotteries authorized in this

state except the act, Chapter 232 of the laws of 1820 which authorized the city of Albany to dispose of its public lands by lotteries. It is said of that act that no bill before the legislature of 1814 excited greater interest and attention, and that the credit for its passage was due to the unwearied exertions of Dr. Nott the able and eloquent president of the college. By the act of 1817 for the construction of the Erie and Champlain canals, there was appropriated and pledged to the canal fund "the proceeds of all lotteries which shall be drawn in this state after the sums now granted upon them shall be paid."

The public conscience began now to wake up to the lottery evil; and the agitation against it began to grow and spread throughout the state. Governor DeWitt Clinton, in one of his messages called attention to it, saying that the raising of money by lotteries was "dubious in the eye of morality and certain in the most pernicious results." Public opinion became so pronounced that by Section 11 of Article 7 of the Constitution of 1821, it was provided as follows: "No lottery shall hereafter be authorized in this state; and the legislature shall pass laws to prevent the sale of all lottery tickets within this state except any lotteries already provided by law."

After 1821 of course no new lotteries were authorized; but under what seems to me to have been a mistaken view of constitutional law, the lotteries already authorized were permitted to run their course on the ground that the laws granting them gave vested rights which could not be destroyed. It was under this mistaken view that several acts were passed after 1821 regulating lotteries. Among such acts was chapter 92 of the laws of 1823 entitled "An act to authorize and provide for the erection of a fever hospital in the city of New York" which with its preamble was as follows: "Whereas the erection of a building near the city of New York, for the reception of persons who may during the prevalence of yellow fever, be taken ill with that disease, is an object of much importance, and in which the whole state is interested; and whereas a sum

of money is, by the existing laws authorized to be raised, after the completion of the lottery grants, to different literary institutions which it is computed will take about eleven and a half years; and it is represented that the corporation of said city, will advance the money requisite to build said buildings: and will purchase, from the state, the privilege of raising the sum by lottery in the expectation that they may, by prudent and correct management thereof, be enabled to save out of the avails of said lottery a portion at least of the monies they shall expend in the erection of the building aforesaid, after refunding to them the consideration they shall pay into the treasury for said lotteries, Therefore be it enacted etc: "That it shall and may be lawful for the corporation of the city of New York to raise by lottery under their superintendence and direction, as hereinafter named, such money as is now authorized by the existing laws of this state to be raised by lottery for the purpose of making up the losses which have been sustained in former lotteries and that the said corporation shall have power to sell and dispose of said lotteries in any manner they may deem proper" and the city was required to pay into the treasury of the state the sum of forty thousand dollars in two equal installments for the grant of these lottery privileges.

Prior to 1829 Union College had bought up nearly all the lotteries authorized by the act of 1814 for colleges and other purposes; and it was probably the last institution in the state interested in lotteries, as it had been the largest beneficiary of them. Soon after that year the public sentiment became imperative that all lotteries in this state should cease, and so by the act chapter 306 of the laws of 1833, it was provided that "all lotteries authorized by law within this state may be continued until the close of the present year, after the end of which period it shall not be lawful to continue or draw any lottery within this state; but all and every lottery granted or authorized within this state shall absolutely cease and determine" Thus lottery

gambling within this state, so far as the law could suppress it came to an end.

The influence of lotteries during all the years of their existence was most disastrous. It was nearly as bad as that of the dram shops and tippling houses. The passing years were strewn with the wrecks of many lives. They fostered idleness and dissipation. They deprived laborers of the earnings they needed for their families and led to penury and pauperism; and our wonder now is that they were tolerated so long. A lucky ticket did not usually benefit the buyer as was illustrated in this town. Sometime between the year 1820 and 1830 a man who went by the name of Major Barker, a barber living here, drew a prize of ten thousand dollars or more and it ruined him. He at once commenced to celebrate his good luck. He hired a six

horse team and had the horses hitched to a sleigh, on the 4th day of July and was drawn to Utica. He entered upon a prolonged debauch and ended a pauper finally dying in the poor-house. Another man, William Tabor drew fifteen hundred dollars and ever after led a vagabond life and died poor.

I will now bring this paper to a close, simply saying that we may congratulate ourselves that we live in times when all kinds of gambling are less rife than they were in the early years of this century, when the wages of labor, instead of being expended at lottery offices, are to so large an extent placed in saving banks and in life insurance, and when private benevolence and general taxation furnish the funds needed for seminaries of learning and other philanthropic works.

BUILDINGS IN HERKIMER SEVENTY YEARS AGO.

AN ADDRESS BY COL. JAMES A. SUTTER, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, November 10, 1896.

I was born in the village of Herkimer in the yellow house which stood on the lot now occupied by A. B. Klock, near the bridge over the hydraulic canal on German street, on the 29th day of April 1816. Herkimer has been my home since that time. I have been absent from the village less than four years including the time when I was in the United States service during the Civil war. I am the only male inhabitant of the village of Herkimer who was born here over eighty years ago. There are now but two inhabitants of the village who were born here prior to 1816, namely; Mrs. Elizabeth Gray, the widow of Gen. Charles Gray, who is in her ninety-first year, and Mrs. Nancy Gray, widow of Alexander M. Gray, who is in her eighty-second year.

I believe that the following list of buildings in the village seventy years ago is substantially correct. In most cases I have also made mention of the buildings of seventy years ago which are now standing. In many cases they have been enlarged and repaired.

BUILDINGS ON THE NORTH SIDE OF GERMAN STREET.

Commencing at the west line of the corporation the first house was that of Frederick Doxtader, which is now owned and occupied by Lewis Mead; next was the farmhouse of Christopher Bellinger,

the grand-father of Jacob G. Bellinger, which is now occupied by George W. Pine. Next was the store and tavern of Jacob Weaver, the Indian trader, commonly called, "King Weaver." This is the building which was destroyed by fire about two years ago. Next was the tannery where Horrock's desk factory now stands. Next was the farm-house of John and Richard Syllaboch, which stood where William Horrock's now lives. Next was a school house which stood near the white house now occupied by Mrs. Strouse and back of that and near the little creek (called Helmer's creek) but on the opposite side, was a house occupied by John Adam Hartman, and a short distance up Helmer creek was a grist mill; near the hull and back of the house now occupied by Fred Bellinger, was the farm-house of Peter Bowman. This house was moved to the site of the house where William Horrock's now lives and was destroyed by fire and then the present brick house was built. Where Fred Bellinger now lives was a house occupied by Mrs. Hamlin; on the flat land in the Bellinger pasture was the house of Frederick Myers. Next was the house of Maj. Gen. Michael Myers, where C. L. Avery now lives and which is owned by Peter F. Bellinger. Next was the house of Dr. William Petrie, grand father of Samuel and Robert Earl,

now occupied by Robert Earl 2nd. About where George F. Miller and A. O. McMath now live was the old store of King Weaver. This store was moved to the south side of German street and now is the double house owned by Louis Turner. At the head of Main street was the house of Jacob P. Weaver, now owned by Mrs. Dr. Pryne. A short distance east of the Jacob P. Weaver house was the Talcott tavern; this building was moved by Charles Spinner and is now the south part of the Mansion house on Main street. Across the hydraulic canal was the house of my father, John Suiter, where I was born; this building was a hotel until the great western turnpike was built, and as that road was laid out down Main street, the hotel lost its custom and the Talcott tavern above mentioned was built. On the corner of Dorf lane and German street was a tobacco factory owned by John Suiter. East of the machine shop of A. B. Klock was the house of George F. Hilts; next was the house of Con. O'Rorke. Next a house owned by Peter Weaver, brother of Jacob P. Weaver, which was where the tenant house lately owned by William Smith now stands. Next was the homestead of John, Nicholas and George Smith, which was the house where William Smith lived and died. Next was the house of Mathew Smith which stood where W. C. Prescott recently lived. Next the house of Nicholas F. Smith. Next a house occupied by Timothy Smith, Paul Custer and others near Lake street; next a house of Peter Weaver also near Lake street. Next the house of Mr. Bisby which is the one on the place now owned by Dr. Pryne; next the dwelling house and blacksmith shop of Peter Myers on the place now owned by Mrs. Perry G. Wires, next the house occupied by John Welter and others, which is the old house a short distance east of Mrs. Wires place, and east of this and the last house in the corporation was the residence of Frederick J. Helmer; this house is still standing but has been moved out of the corporation.

SOUTH SIDE OF GERMAN STREET.

Opposite the Horrock's desk factory

was the tannery dwelling house which is near the cheese factory and now occupied as a dairy house. Next was the house of Frederick and William Helmer, which was an old wooden and mud house; this house was moved back and the present brick house was built. The bricks to build this house were obtained on the farm on the north side of the turnpike. Where Jacob G. Bellinger lives was the house of Henry Helmer; this house was moved to the east side of Main street and is the double house next to Alonzo Rust's. Next was the house of Frederick P. Bellinger which is now occupied by Henry H. Bellinger and his sisters. At the corner of Washington and German streets was a tenant house owned by Jacob P. Weaver; this house was occupied by poor people; in those days the three poor-masters of the town sold the labor of the paupers to the person who would take them for the least sum and support them and Mr. Weaver was often a purchaser. Next was the house of Melchert Folts about where Miss Kate Folts now lives. Nearly opposite the dairy house of William Smith was the dwelling house and factory of Levi Morehouse. Nearly opposite the places now occupied by Perry G. Wires and Jacob H. Harter was a saw mill and cloth factory of Mr. Bisby.

EAST SIDE OF WASHINGTON STREET.

The next house below the tenant house of Jacob P. Weaver on the corner of Washington and German streets was the house of Mr. Daniel Chapman, a lawyer, which house I now own and occupy. Next was the house of Joel Tubbs which is now occupied by Mrs. Lints. Next, where L. J. Folts now lives was the school house; in the rear of the school house was an old tenement house. The house where Glen P. Munson now lives was the residence of Lauren Ford, a lawyer. A potashery stood where Frank H. Smith and Henry McNeal now live, next was the residence of Simeon Ford, a lawyer; the building is now owned by Michael Foley. Next was a rectifying house about where Joseph Folts now lives, but back farther from the street. Next was the house of Dr. Harvey W. Doolittle where W. B. Howell now lives;

this house was moved to the west side of Prospect street and is the second house north of Judge I. R. Devendorf's. Next was the residence of Mr. Munger and is the house next south of Dr. Shaper's and is now owned by Elisha Lyon. When I was a small boy there was no house south of this one on the north side of the turnpike.

Lots on Washington street sixty six feet front then sold for forty dollars a lot.

The house where Stephen Taylor now lives was built by Asa Wood. Next was the house of Mrs. Carlisle, which stood where W. P. Munson now lives; this house was moved back and is where William Hartman now lives. Where the store occupied by Trenbeth & Co. now is, was the residence of John Earl, father of Robert and Samuel Earl. The rear part of the store is a part of the old residence. Next was John Earl's blacksmith shop.

WEST SIDE OF WASHINGTON STREET.

The house belonging to the Myers estate stood on the site of old Fort Dayton, back of Mrs. Goldsmith's place and I believe the house is still standing.

On the corner of Washington and Court street was a house owned by Walter Fish; this house was moved several times and is now on the northeast corner of Smith and Pine streets.

Where M. Foley has recently built two new houses was a tenement house belonging to the Griswold estate, and where Father Halpin now lives, was also a tenement house belonging to the Griswold estate.

The house in which Mrs. A. H. Prescott now lives was a part of the house of Dr. Elihu Griswold. The next building was the blacksmith shop of Mr. Avery at the lower corner of Green and Washington streets. Andrew Bartow lived on the lot now owned by Mr. Metzger in a house which is now a tenant house in the rear of the houses on Green street and is owned by Mrs. George Myers. Mr. Horace Morse lived on a lot owned by Adam Dager in a large house which was recently torn down. Where H. A. Deimel now lives was the cabinet shop

of Benjamin Kelsey and in the second story of this building was the Masonic hall. C. D. Lounsberry lived in a house across the railroad on what is now railroad property; this building was moved to the north side of the turnpike on or near Deimel street.

EAST SIDE OF MAIN STREET.

The first house was the Winnie house in which Mrs. Taber now lives. Next was the store of Farwell & Woodruff on the corner of Court street where Dr. Suiter's house is; it was afterward used as a dwelling house and was moved away when Dr. Suiter built his house.

On the farther corner of Court and Main Streets was the old jail and court house, a wooden building which was burned in 1834. The house where J. A. Steele now lives was built partly of the office of Gaylord Griswold.

The house on this lot was moved to the east side of Washington street and is now owned by C. A. Snyder; next where the Episcopal church now is, was the residence of Gaylord Griswold; it was moved to the west side of Main street and has lately been remodeled and is now occupied by H. P. Witherstine. The hotel of Windsor Maynard was on the corner where Mrs. Monroe lives.

Next where the furniture store occupied by John Campbell is, was a small building occupied as a mechanic shop; where the Fox block now is was a block of wooden stores which were burned and a block of brick stores was subsequently built.

Where the Waverly hotel is, was the Whiting hotel which was burned and rebuilt. Where the Herkimer bank is, was a jewelry shop. The Stimson house is a portion of the hotel and residence of Thomas G. Barnum. The store of Thomas G. Barnum and his cabinet shop was on the Washburn place. Where W. B. Howell's store is, was the dwelling house of Jacob Aldrich. Next, where the Metzger block is was the store of James Byers, who was the grandfather of the Addys and Mrs. J. Horatio Huyck, and the jewelry shop of Mr. Munger. The store of James Byers was moved to Smith street when the Metzger block was

built and is the house which was recently owned by Garrison Smith. In the rear of Byers store was the printing office of the *Herkimer American* published by Edward Seymour. On the other corner of Main and Green streets was a large building called the town house which was burned. Next was the store and residence of James VanAntwerp, which is the building where Mrs. Peter I. Leper now lives.

The house in which Dr. Graves lives was a portion of the hat and cap factory of Bloomfield Usher Sr. Next was the dwelling of James Claghorn and Benjamin Derby, which stood on the site of the Graves brick building; the old building was moved down the street and is now occupied by N. P. Mount as a liquor store; where the Deimel & Schermer block now is, was the hotel of Joach n Van Valkenburg. The building occupied by Casper Haller was the harness shop of Alfred Putman. Where the Nelson house now is, was the hotel of Asher Heacox; the rear part of the Nelson house is a part of the old building.

On the south side of the turnpike about where the depot now stands was the store and dwelling house of Ralph Merry; this building is now one of the Putman double houses on the east side of Prospect street. Below Ralph Merry's place and on what is now railroad property, were four old dwelling houses.

WEST SIDE OF MAIN STREET.

First was a tenement house on the place now owned by Judge Smith. Next was the residence of John Harter which is still standing, being the house next north of W. C. Prescott's. Next was the blacksmith shop of John Harter about where G. M. Helmer now lives. Next and about where the Herkimer County Grange store now is, was the harness shop occupied by F. E. Spinner and tinshop occupied by John Suiter. On the lot now owned by A. B. Steele was the slaughter house of Warren Caswell, father of ex-postmaster Warren Caswell. Next was the Dutch Reformed church, then a woolen building which was burned in 1834. Where the jail now is was a cow bell factory and a dwelling

house in the rear occupied by Cornelius Conover; this dwelling house was moved to the north side of Church street and is now on the back part of John Campbell's lot. The north part of the present Mansion house was the Smith hotel. The meat market of I. G. Miller was the dwelling house of Mr. Norris. Where the Palmer house now is, was the store of P. M. Hackley and where Dr. Kay now lives was a building occupied by Horace Morse as a drug store; a portion of this building is still standing. Where C. R. Snell lives was the residence of Mr. Gill. The house now owned by D. M. Burgess, was the residence of Philo M. Hackley. Where Mrs. Elizabeth Gray now lives was the house of Mr. Lapham, which was moved to Green street and is now occupied by Dr. Backus. On the property given by Judge Earl and wife to the village for a library, was the residence and shop of Mark Batchelder and the residence of Mr. Blair, who was a son-in-law of Elihu Griswold. The residence of Mr. Batchelder is a part of the Monroe Building at the corner of Main and Mary streets; the shop was moved to Pine street and is owned by Harvey Reese. The Blair house was moved to the east side of Washington street and is the second house above J. A. Suiter Jr. The Lawton house on the corner of Main and Liberty streets, now owned by Dr. Kay, was the residence of Dr. Andrew Farrell.

The building on the other corner owned by Dr. Pryne was the house of Dr. Tomblin and the office now owned by Dr. Pryne is the same office used by Dr. Tomblin. The house occupied by Mr. Cyrus Kay was the house occupied by Edward P. Seymour. The dwelling house of Dr. Abrams, was where Warren Caswell now lives. The rear part of the house of Mrs. Murray was the residence of Alfred Putman. There were two tenement houses owned by Alfred Putman about where the Democrat printing office and J. T. Colcord's store now are. The law office of William B. Goff was where Prowse & Thomson's store now is, and the residence of Mr. Goff was where the Arnold block now is;

this house was moved to the site of the Universalist church. Below the railroad on what is now railroad property was the wagon shop and residence of Alexander McKennan, grandfather of John A. McKennan. The residence and cooper shop of Boaz Draper, grandfather of Mathew Draper, was near the E. C. Munson premises.

EAST SIDE OF PROSPECT STREET.

The first building, on the southwest corner of Prospect and Church streets, was a distillery conducted by James Byers. Where the Misses Chatfield now live was a tenement house owned by P. M. Hackley. Next was the residence and cooper shop of Samuel Luke, just south of H. M. Quackenbush's shop.

Next, on the corner of Liberty street was the residence of Jonathan Dye. On the south corner was the residence of Jabez Fox, now occupied by John Zintzmaster. The last house on the street and at the foot of the street was the residence of Rev. John P. Spinner, afterward owned by Peter B. Spinner.

WEST SIDE OF PROSPECT STREET.

Where Morris Marks now lives was the distillery of P. M. Hackley; where James Fagan lives was the potashery of P. M. Hackley. Where Albert Wilbur now lives was the tannery of Mr. Rasbach, grandfather of Charles Rasbach. The house owned by Jacob W. Petrie was where H. M. Quackenbush now lives. This house was moved to Pine street and is now occupied by Heman Rowland. Next was the residence of Enoch Talcott. The last house on this side of the street was the residence of Judge John Mahon, which stood about where the Methodist parsonage now is.

ALBANY STREET.

On the south side of the turnpike nearly opposite the shop of J. A. Suiter was the house of Bloomfield Usher Sr. This house was moved to the west side of Washington street.

On the north side of Albany street where the the Edick house now is was the hotel of Benjamin Kelsey.

Near the West Canada creek north of the turnpike was a large grist mill, saw mill and whiskey distillery and stables where they fattened cattle and hogs in great numbers. These buildings were owned by Windsor Maynard. On the turnpike, and this side of the old toll gate was a dwelling house occupied by the Millers.

GREEN STREET.

On the south side of Green street were hay scales, but not of the kind used today. To weigh a load on a wagon they used to hitch a chain to each of the four wheels and pull the wagon up by ropes run on pulleys.

On the north side of Green street where Mrs. Nichols lives was the house of Nicholas Sterling and the dwelling house of James Byers was a part of the tin shop of John Metzger.

There were no buildings on Mary street except on the corners.

COURT STREET.

David Petrie had a tenement house near the present clerk's office. The blacksmith shop of Joel Tubbs was nearly opposite Levi Lawtons.

LIBERTY STREET.

On the north side of Liberty street was the office of Dr. Andrew Farrell. This building was recently torn down by Charles B. Perry to make room for his new house.

REMINISCENCES CONCERNING SEVERAL PERSONS CONNECTED WITH IMPORTANT HISTORICAL EVENTS.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, November 10, 1896.

I have met several interesting people who had relation to important historical events of whom I will write a brief paper that may have some interest to the members of this society.

MRS. KATHARINE MYERS.

The war between the two European powers, England and France, in the middle of the last century, commonly called the seven years war, was in large part fought out upon this continent. Here the question involved was, whether the French or the English should dominate this country. The English guided and stimulated by the great talents, inspiring enthusiasm and wise statesmanship of the elder Pitt finally put an end in that war to the dominion of France on this side of the Atlantic. Quebec was taken under the heroic leadership of General Wolf in 1759; and in 1760 the whole of Canada came under the British crown. The inhabitants of this country fought and suffered for the English cause.

The Palatines came here about 1723, and in thirty-five years had grown to about three hundred. They were hardy and industrious. They had comfortable homes, good farms, plenty of horses, cattle and other live stock, and their

houses were abundantly furnished with plain but useful and substantial furniture. Indeed they were considered rich and were in better condition than they ever before had been in this country or in their European home.

While the inhabitants were slumbering in peace, unconscious of danger, at three o'clock in the morning of November 12, 1757, the French and Indians coming from Canada, by the way of the Black River country, came upon the village here, and with a wild war whoop entered upon their savage work of destruction. When the inhabitants were aroused, they found their cruel enemy applying the torch to their houses and reaping the harvest of death. The entire village was destroyed. Twenty or more of the inhabitants were killed. At least one hundred men, women and children were taken captives, and the remainder escaped to Fort Herkimer on the south side of the river. Among the captives were Capt. Henry Harter and his wife Abelone and they with the others were taken on their long journey to Canada. While Mrs. Harter was in captivity, at Prescott, in Canada, May 4, 1758, she gave birth to a little girl. She and her husband and their child

after about one year of captivity, were returned to their home here; and that child grew up to maturity a beautiful woman. She subsequently became the wife of General Michael Myers, the most prominent and important person in the Mohawk valley; and she became the mother of sons and daughters who were distinguished for their beauty and the elegance of their manners. Long years after the death of General Myers, I knew his widow well. She died September 4th, 1839, aged eighty-one years and four months, and for several years before her death I lived near her upon an adjoining lot in this village. She lived where Mr. Avery now lives and I lived upon the lot where the family of my deceased brother now lives. She was a slender woman of medium stature and delicate and handsome features, and refined and attractive in mind and manners. She, like most of the old Palatines talked Mohawk Dutch better than English. Her descendants living in this county are quite numerous. From one daughter are descended Mrs. E. A. Brown, of Dolgeville, and her brothers, Mr. Giles Griswold and Mrs. C. R. Snell and their brother and sisters; Mr. Frank Barry and his brothers, all of Herkimer; Mrs. Mason Van Slyke and the children of the late Mrs. Charles Dorr, of Little Falls. From a son, Matthew Myers, is descended Mrs. Margaret F. Rawdon, of Little Falls. From her son, Peter M. Myers, are descended Mrs. Dr. Casey and her brother Henry M. Bellinger, of Mohawk. From another son, Henry Myers is descended Mrs. Henry M. Bellinger; and there are many descendants elsewhere in this and other states.

Thus my memory carries me back through five generations of descendants, from grand children of great grand children to one whose romantic history has relation to a great war, and to a historic event of great importance in the early annals of this region of country.

JOHN FINSTER.

In 1764 Peter Hassenclever, a German by birth, of great intelligence, enterprise and more enthusiasm than good judgment, came to this country in the inter-

est of a London company of which he was a member, to engage in the production of pig iron, hemp and pot and pearl ashes; and in that year he imported from Germany a large number of Germans with their wives and children to work for him as miners, carpenters and in other capacities. By the end of the year 1766, he had in operation in New Jersey and on the Hudson river furnaces and forges for the manufacture of iron, and in Schuyler, in this county, a pot and pearl ash 'manufactory'. The place where he located in Schuyler, was called New Petersburg, and there he built two frame houses and thirty-five log houses. He placed upon this settlement some of the people whom he had imported from Germany, and began the cultivation of hemp, flax, madder and the production of pot and pearl ashes. In 1769 he, with his associates, obtained a patent for 18,000 acres of land, commonly called Hassenclever patent located in the towns of Herkimer, Newport and Schuyler. He also purchased 6755 acres of land in and about New Petersburg, in Cosby's Manor, where his farming and other operations were carried on. He also purchased 50,000 acres of land in New Jersey, 11,500 acres near Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and 40,000 acres in Nova Scotia. He had intimate relations with Sir William Johnson and was a frequent visitor at Johnson Hall. His was among the earliest efforts to introduce the manufacture of iron into this country. The conditions were unfavorable and through various misfortunes and misadventures, all his enterprises in this country came to grief, and he became a bankrupt. He returned to Germany and there engaged in the linen manufacture and died in 1792 much lamented. New Petersburg was at the place now known as East Schuyler. Hassenclever established a store there, the first within the present limits of this county, which was managed for him by my mother's grandfather, John Wolf.

Among the persons brought over from Germany by Hassenclever, were Frederick Oyer and his stepson, John Finster,

then about five years old. Oyer built and lived in a log house near where the Oyer cheese factory now is. That house was burned down by the Indians, and his son George was killed by them. He was killed in the battle of Oriskany, and his stepson Finster was also in the same battle. Finster came from Germany in the same vessel with my grandfather, and in my boyhood he frequently came to my home. He was then an old man, but he lived until 1855, when he died nearly ninety-six years old. He left many descendants in this county, one of whom, a granddaughter married Alexis L. Johnson, a venerable member of this society. His name is associated with the early settlement of Schuyler and with interesting historical events of the Revolutionary war.

DAVID PETTES.

If Benedict Arnold had died at the battle of Saratoga, in which he was seriously wounded, his death would have been mourned by all the patriots of the country and he would have been remembered in history as one of the most gallant and heroic soldiers of the Revolution. But his subsequent treason blotted out his merits, blackened his character and ever since has caused his name to be justly execrated.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary war the patriotic statesman and soldiers contemplated the conquest of Canada and her union with the colonies in resistance to British Dominion on this side of the Atlantic. One of the earliest to suggest this project was Arnold, and it received the hearty approval of General Washington. In the summer of 1775 the British forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been taken; and thus the road to Canada by way of Lakes George and Champlain was opened. The final plan of the campaign against Canada was to send two armies, one under the command of General Schuyler by way of these lakes, and the other under Arnold by the way of the Kennebec river through the wilderness and over the mountains of Main to Quebec. The forces under Schuyler were expected to

take Montreal and then go down the St. Lawrence and meet Arnold before Quebec for an assault upon that stronghold. Washington in his letter of instructions to Arnold said: "You are entrusted with a command of the utmost importance to the liberties of America. On your conduct and courage and that of the officers and soldiers detached on this expedition, not only the success of your present enterprise and your own honor, but the safety and welfare of the whole country may depend."

Eleven hundred men were placed under his command at Cambridge, Massachusetts, then the head quarters of Washington. From that place this little army started on the 11th of September, 1775, for Newburyport; and reaching that place, they embarked in transports and were conveyed to the mouth of the Kennebec river. Then they started upon their fearful journey, surrounded by every difficulty which could appall the stoutest hearts. The way was unknown. There were rugged mountains, dismal swamps, rapid rivers and tangled, unbroken forests to overcome. The weather became cold and they had to contend with frost and snow. Their provisions became exhausted and they had to subsist on short rations. They even ate roots, the flesh of dogs and some of them boiled and broiled their old moose hide breeches and ate them. During the whole journey, Arnold shared the hardships of his soldiers and every danger to which they were exposed. His heroism and fortitude inspired them with confidence and there was little murmuring, although many of the soldiers died and some, in a body under Lieutenant Colonel Enos, deserted. Finally, after a march of six hundred miles, in November he reached Quebec with about six hundred and seventy-five men. In the meantime, General Schuyler having become ill, General Montgomery had succeeded him in the command of the army which went by the way of the lakes. He had taken Montreal and he went down the St. Lawrence river to Quebec and there, early in December, with three hundred men, effected a junction with Arnold,

Montgomery and Arnold were both young, the former thirty-seven and the latter thirty-four years of age. The city was defended by two hundred cannon and by soldiers twice the number of the assailants; and yet these heroic leaders, with their brave soldiers, were unappalled and undaunted. It was arranged that on the last day of the year the forces should be divided between the two leaders and that they should lead the attack on two different quarters of the city. The soldiers were put in motion at two o'clock A. M., and the carpenters with Montgomery, sawed off some of the pickets protecting the city in that quarter. Through the opening thus made, Montgomery with his aids entered, and he found himself in advance of his troops. He paused until about sixty of his men joined him, and then shouting "Men of New York, you will not fear to follow where your General leads, come on my brave boys, and Quebec is ours." He rushed forward with his men towards a battery in his front; and the cannon loaded with grape shot were discharged into their breasts; and Montgomery and several of his officers and men were killed and wounded. Some were taken prisoners and the others being without their leader fled. And so the British garrison was left free to concentrate all its force upon the quarter attacked by Arnold. Many of the assailants under him were killed, wounded or taken prisoners. Arnold was among the wounded but was not taken prisoner. He, with the remnant of his army retreated and reached Montreal; and from there went up Lake Champlain, Lake George and so on to Albany, reaching the latter place in November, 1776. Arnold, for his skill and heroism in this campaign, was made a Brigadier General.

It is an interesting incident that Montgomery was with General Wolf sixteen years before when the English, under his command took Quebec from the French, their gallant leader dying heroically in the moment of victory. Now Montgomery lost his life in the attempt of the Americans under his command to take the same city from the English.

He probably heard General Wolf the night before his death repeat those pathetic lines from Gray's *Elegy* in a Church Yard, saying to his men that he "Would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec."

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power
And all that beauty, all that wealth ere gave,
Await like the inevitable hour.

The paths of glory lead but to the grave"

The mournful sentiment of these lines were signally illustrated in the lives and deaths of both these heroes.

I have made this brief sketch of Arnold's campaign for the purpose of introducing David Pettes. He was with Arnold in his Canadian campaign, and I had from his own lips, his account of his experiences. When I knew him he was a pensioner and lived in my home. He marched with Arnold through Maine to Quebec and when the forces were there, divided between Montgomery and Arnold, he was among those assigned to the former. He was with the few soldiers who entered with Montgomery through the opening made by sawing off the pickets as above related, and was beside him when the cannon of the enemy were discharged and caught him in his arms as he fell mortally wounded. He was taken prisoner and remained such until August 11, 1776, when he was released upon his parole; and in 1777 he was exchanged. He subsequently took part in the battles of Bemis Heights and Saratoga which resulted in the defeat and capture of the army of General Burgoyne. Thus I knew one of the heroes of the Revolutionary War, who was engaged in a campaign which has never in the world's history been surpassed for the hardships and sufferings endured and the fortitude and courage displayed by the soldiers.

HENRY FREEMAN.

It is hard to realize now the difficulties of transportation in the early part of this century. Transportation upon water along the sea-coast, and upon the navigable rivers was comparatively cheap and easy. But inland the roads were so poor that the cost of moving products to distant points was enormous, and frequent-

ly consumed their entire value. At first the difficulties of transportation were sought to be overcome by the building of turnpikes. In this state alone, by the year 1811, one hundred and thirty-seven turnpike companies had been organized. About 1811 the freight from New York to Lewiston, at the mouth of the Niagara river nearly all the way by water, was \$40 per ton besides tolls. It cost \$2.50 to move a bushel of salt and \$5.00 to move one hundred pounds of sugar over any road three hundred miles. The average cost of land transportation of a ton was \$10 per hundred miles. In 1816 the fare for one person upon a stage from Boston to Washington, was \$30. In 1817 the freight from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was \$9.50 per hundred pounds, and in 1818 from New York to Pittsburg \$6.00 per hundred pounds, and \$4.50 per hundred pounds to Sandusky or Detroit. When the Atlantic coast navigation was interrupted by the war of 1812, all the commerce between the North and South was carried on by land; and it was estimated that four thousand wagons and twenty thousand horses and oxen were used for that purpose. It took two months for a wagon to go from Boston to Augusta, Georgia, and fifty days to go there from New York.

Early in the century, enterprising and inventive men began to consider other means of transportation than those before used. The steam boat was invented by Fulton and the first steamboat, the Cleremont, went upon the Hudson river from New York to Albany in 1809, in thirty-two hours which was considered a great achievement. Soon there was a great furor for navigation by steam, and enterprising men and capitalists in the North and South formed companies for placing steam vessels upon the principal navigable waters, and the Ohio and Mississippi were among the first rivers to attract their attention. The first steamboat that passed down the Ohio and Mississippi was built at Pittsburg and went down those rivers to New Orleans in 1811; and I knew a man who went down those rivers upon that boat on her first trip. His name was Henry Freeman,

an intelligent man living on the boarders of Schuyler lake, in Richfield, Otsego county. I knew him about 1853, and for some time after that. He lived to see steamboats upon nearly all the navigable streams and lakes of our country and upon the ocean, passing to and fro like the shuttles of a loom, weaving together the commerce of the world. We are living in a time when freight is transported upon the railroads of the country at an average cost of less than six mills (.579) for a ton per mile, and passengers at an average cost of less than two cents (1.955) per mile. And yet there is great clamor in some parts of the country for cheaper transportation.

Thus I write of Henry Freeman, as one who had relation to a great historic event.

THOMAS ALLEN CLARKE.

It is impossible to say now who first suggested the construction of a canal connecting the waters of Lake Erie with the Hudson river at Albany. General Phillip Schuyler was among the earliest projectors of canals in this state. The plan of building a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson was agitated as early as 1808. Subsequently surveys and estimates were from time to time made. Efforts were made to procure the assistance of the general government and of other states in building the canal, but they failed. Prominent among those engaged in the project was DeWitt Clinton, who by voice and pen and personal influence and efforts did more to forward the work than anyone else; and hence he has justly been called the "Father of the Erie Canal." Two canal projects went hand in hand; one to build the Erie canal and the other to build the Champlain canal connecting the Hudson river with Lake Champlain. In 1816 an act of the Legislature was passed entitled, "An act to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of this State," in which DeWitt Clinton and four others were appointed commissioners to consider, devise and adopt measures for the construction of canals to connect the Hudson river with Lake Erie and also with Lake Champlain. They were au-

horized and required to make applications on behalf of the state to Congress and to such states and territories as might be benefited by the canals or either of them, to the proprietors of land through or near which the canals might pass, to all bodies politic and corporate, public or private, and to all citizens of this or any other of the United States, for cessions, grants or donations of land or money for the purpose of aiding in the construction of the canals. In February 1817, the commissioners made to the Legislature their report, giving the surveys, plans and estimates, and other valuable information and showing the feasibility of the canals. William D. Ford, then a member of the Assembly from this county, who had also been a member the previous year, moved in the Assembly that the report be referred to a joint committee of both houses; and his motion was adopted. He and four others were appointed the joint committee, and he was made chairman of the committee. This committee examined the report of the canal Commissioners and drew up a report to the Legislature recommending the construction of the Erie and Champlain canals, and containing the outlines of the canal fund. On the 19th day of March 1817, Mr. Ford brought in a bill for the construction of the two canals which passed on the 15th of April, 1817. The bill was entitled "An act respecting navigable communication between the Great Western and Northern lakes and the Atlantic ocean;" and the following was its preamble showing the broad enlightened views entertained by the men who framed it: "Whereas navigable communications between Lakes Erie and Champlain, and the Atlantic ocean, by means of canals connected with the Hudson river will promote agriculture, manufactures and commerce, mitigate the calamities of war, and enhance the blessings of peace, consolidate the Union and advance the prosperity and elevate the character of the United States: and Whereas it is the incumbent duty of the people of this state to avail themselves of the means which the Almighty has placed in their hands for the production

of such signal extensive and lasting benefits to the human race; Now therefore, in the full confidence that the Congress of the United States, and the states equally interested with this state in the commencement, prosecution and completion of these important works, will contribute their full portion of the expense; and in order that adequate funds may be procured and properly arranged and managed for the prosecution and completion of all the navigable communications contemplated by this act, Be it enacted" &c.

The act provided that there should be a canal fund to be managed by the commissioners of the canal fund, which fund should consist of all such appropriations, grants and donations as might be made for that purpose by the Legislature, by Congress, by other states and by corporations, companies and individuals. The commissioners of the canal fund were authorized to borrow money not exceeding four hundred thousand dollars in any year and the canal commissioners named in the act of 1816 were to proceed with the construction of the canals. They were to acquire for the state the title to the property of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, and to the necessary lands for the canals. For the payment of the principal and interest of the canal debt, there was appropriated and pledged "A duty or tax of twelve and a half cents per bushel upon all salt to be manufactured in the western district of the state; a tax of one dollar upon steam-boat passengers for each and every trip or voyage such passenger may be conveyed upon the Hudson river on board of any steam-boat over one hundred miles, and half that sum for any distance less than one hundred miles and over thirty miles; the proceeds of all lotteries which shall be drawn in this state after the sums now granted upon them shall be paid; all the net proceeds of this state from the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company; all the net proceeds of the said canals and each part thereof when made; all grants and donations made or to be made for the purpose of making the said canals; all du-

ties upon sales at auction after deducting thereout twenty-three thousand five hundred dollars annually appropriated to the hospital, the economical school and the orphan asylum society, and ten thousand dollars hereby appropriated annually for the support of foreign poor in the city of New York." And it was made the duty of the canal commissioners to raise the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for canal purposes by causing the same to be assessed upon the lands lying along the routes of the canals on both sides and within twenty-five miles thereof.

Who was William D. Ford, member of Assembly from this county, who was so prominent in the legislation inaugurating the construction of the Erie canal? He was born in this county or came here early. He was educated at the Fairfield Academy. He studied law with Gaylord Griswold and Simeon Ford, and was admitted to the bar in 1809. In 1817 he moved from this county to Watertown, in Jefferson county and there entered upon the practice of his profession. Such were his standing and ability that the next year, 1818, he was elected, as a Democrat, to Congress from the Eighteenth District, composed of Jefferson, Lewis, and St. Lawrence counties. He continued to live in Watertown until his death.

In pursuance of the legislative act of 1817 the commissioners proceeded with the construction of the canals and made the first contract for that purpose upon the Erie canal on the 27th day of June, 1817. The first ground was broken on the 4th day of July thereafter at Rome, in the presence of the canal commissioners and a large concourse of citizens. The middle section of the Erie canal extending from Utica to the Montezuma marshes, a distance of ninety-four miles was completed by October 15, 1819; and on the 23rd and 24th days of the same month, the commissioners navigated the canal in a boat from Utica to Rome; and thereafter boats navigated the canal seventy-five miles west of Utica. In 1821 boats descended the canal as far as Little Falls and the whole canal was

completed about the middle of October, 1825. It was about three hundred sixty-three miles long, forty feet wide at the top and twenty-eight at the bottom and four feet deep. The first boat that ever passed from Lake Erie to the Hudson was called the Seneca Chief; and it went down the canal the latter part of October, 1825. DeWitt Clinton, the Governor of the state, with several other gentlemen was on board. Another boat followed with the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Tallmadge, Canal Commissioner Henry Seymour and others on board. Cannon were placed at intervals along the canal to be fired in succession so as to convey to the city of New York the news that the boats had started, and thus in one hour and twenty minutes the news reached New York. When the Seneca Chief started from Buffalo a keg of water from Lake Erie was put on board in the presence of a vast concourse of people and all along the canal great interest and enthusiasm were manifested. At each of the successive villages there were the firing of cannon and other demonstration. Leading officials and citizens would go on board the boats and go along from one village to another. When the boats reached Utica, Mr. Clarke, then president of the village, went on board of the Seneca Chief and took with him his son, Thomas Allen Clarke, a young lad. They remained on board during the remainder of the trip to New York. On the way down the Hudson river the Seneca Chief was followed by a large number of boats and steamers with flags flying. Cannon were fired and during the night bonfires were lighted on the shores of the river. When they reached New York there was a vast concourse of people to witness the great event. The boats proceeded through the narrows to Sandy Hook and there Governor Clinton knocked in the head of the keg and emptied the Lake Erie water into the ocean, making suitable remarks, and there was again the booming of cannon and other demonstrations; and thus was inaugurated the navigation of the Erie canal which made the city of New York the great metropo-

lis of this country. More than sixty years afterwards I became acquainted with the young lad above mentioned, and found him one of the most interesting men I ever met; and he gave me the principal facts above related as to that first trip through the canal. He studied law and was admitted to the bar at Utica. Afterward he went to New Orleans and became one of the leaders of the bar there and a very successful and influential citizen. During the War of the Rebellion, at the time General Butler captured the city he was president of a bank there and for disobedience of some command issued by Butler, which I have forgotten, he was imprisoned, bail being refused. He was soon released and sometime after the war came North and he resided in Albany where I knew him until his death. Thus he was connected with one of the greatest events in the history of our state—an event even of national importance. His life spanned many years and few persons have ever witnessed greater changes than those which came under his eyes, and of which he was the graphic delineator.

PHILLIP DIXON.

Prior to 1836, Texas was a province of Mexico. But for sometime before that year the country had been in insurrection against the Mexican government. On the 2nd of March, 1836, a convention representing the people of Texas adopted a Declaration of Independence, and Sam Houston was appointed commander-in-chief of the Texan forces. Then the Mexicans under General Santa-Anna, five thousand strong, invaded Texas. A portion of these forces on the 6th of March took fort Alamo and put to death 185 soldiers who defended it, among whom was Bowie, after whom the bowie knife

was named, and David Crockett whose coon has furnished the staple of many a jest. A few days later, Goliad was captured and five hundred men were put to death by the Mexicans. On the 21st of April, General Houston, with seven hundred and fifty men met eighteen hundred Mexicans on the borders of the San Jacinto under Santa Anna. The Texas battle cry was "Remember the Alamo." The fight lasted less than an hour and the Mexicans were completely routed, losing six hundred and thirty killed and seven hundred thirty prisoners including Santa Anna. The result of this battle was a treaty with Santa Anna by which the independence of Texas was acknowledged. Texas remained an independent republic until December 29, 1845, when she was annexed to the United States; and war thereafter ensued between this country and Mexico. I knew Phillip Dixon, who was the father-in-law of Mr. Charles Pierce of this village. He was a soldier in the war for Texan independence and fought in the battle of San Jacinto. He aided in the capture of Santa Anna and I think he said he was in a tree when he was captured. He lived many years in this village and died in 1871, aged sixty-four years. He, too, was related to a great historic event. Sam Houston was one of the most interesting men that ever appeared on this continent. His life was full of romance and strange and interesting incidents. He was a United States Senator from 1845 to 1859. I saw him in Washington in the spring of 1853. He was tall of stature and cordial and dignified in his manners. He was a type of man that our modern conditions and civilizations will never reproduce.

A HISTORICAL MISTAKE CORRECTED.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, December 8, 1896.

The stories of the past recorded in history are full of mistakes. The historian has sometimes to look through a hazy atmosphere, and he sees inaccurately or not at all. He frequently mistakes the import of what is passing before his own eyes. He has generally to rely upon traditions, or the recitals of others; and errors will sometimes inevitably creep into his narrative. Renan, himself a great historian, said: "When I read over what I have written, I perceive that I have put in a multitude of things of which I am not certain."

I am led to these observations by the mistakes some of our local historians have made as to the first liberty pole raised in this state. It is recorded in the latest history of Herkimer county that the first liberty pole in this state, and the first but one in the whole country was raised at Fort Herkimer in the spring of 1775. That mistake was repeated in one of the earliest papers read before this society; and I followed my predecessors in the paper I read on the "Mohawk Valley In History." I had some misgivings when I repeated that incident, and upon investigation since made I have found my error and have corrected it.

The cap has been the emblem of liberty since the days of ancient Rome; and its elevation upon a pole where it could

be seen and inspire enthusiasm and devotion was a natural sequence. Hence the early liberty poles in this country were surmounted with a liberty cap, and the poles were called liberty poles.

The early policy of England was to get as much advantage and draw as much revenue from her American colonies as she could regardless of their welfare. She insisted upon the right to tax them, and this in all its forms they resisted. In spite of their remonstrances, the famous Stamp Act which did so much to fan the flames of Rebellion and Revolution in this country was in March 1765, passed by the English Parliament. It required all legal and mercantile documents and contracts, newspapers, pamphlets, almanacs etc., to be written or printed on stamped paper; and the stamps were to be had only of agents appointed for their sale by the British Government. The Act aroused great indignation and hostility in the Colonies and extreme measures were resorted to to defeat its operation. The opposition to it was so general and determined that early in 1766 the English Ministry determined to recede; and on the 20th of February the act was repealed. News of the repeal reached New York on the 20th of May and caused great rejoicing; and on the next day the people, assembled upon the commons, manifested their de-

light by all kinds of demonstrations. They again celebrated the event on the 4th of June, the King's birthday, and on that day erected upon the Commons a liberty pole—the first, so far as I can find, erected in this or any other country, on which they inscribed "The King, Pitt and Liberty." That pole subsequently served as the rallying point for the Sons of Liberty and other patriotic citizens. It therefore became obnoxious to the British soldiers stationed in New York, and on the 10th of August, 1766, a party of them cut it down. The next day the people assembled again on the Commons and were preparing to erect another Liberty Pole when they were attacked by the soldiers and dispersed. But September 1st, 1766, the people erected upon the Commons another pole which was permitted to stand until it was cut down by the soldiers on the night of September 23rd. Within two days another pole was erected by the people in the same place. On the 18th of March 1767, the people again assembled on the Commons and celebrated the first Anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act with the greatest enthusiasm. This aroused the ire of the British soldiers, and before the next morning the pole was again leveled to the ground. On the next day, the Sons of Liberty, a body of citizens organized to defend and foster the liberties of the Colony, erected another more substantial pole well secured with iron bands. On the same night, an unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy it. The next night another attempt was made to blow it up with gun powder and that also failed. Then the Sons of Liberty set a strong guard around the pole. For three successive nights, the soldiers renewed their attacks upon the pole, but each time were beaten off by the people. That pole remained unmolested, so far as I can find, until the 13th of January, 1770, when a party of British soldiers again attacked it cutting off the wooden supporters about it and attempting to blow it up with gun powder. Failing in this they attacked some citizens who had gathered in front of a hotel, the headquarters of

the Sons of Liberty. On the two following nights the soldiers repeated their attempts to destroy the pole, but failed. Finally on the night of the 16th of January, they succeeded and leveled the pole to the ground, sawed it into pieces and piled them up before the hotel. This aroused the Sons of Liberty, and they called a meeting of the citizens for that night on the Commons to discuss the outrage and three thousand answered to the call. Among other things, they appointed a committee to request of the Common Council permission to erect another pole upon the Commons. The request was made and refused. Then the Liberty boys bought a small piece of ground near the site of the former pole; and there on the 6th of February, 1770, a pole of great length covered two-thirds of its height with iron hoops and bars firmly riveted, was erected and sunk twelve feet into the ground; and it bore this inscription "Liberty and Property." On the 29th of March, 1770, a party of British soldiers who had been ordered to embark in a few days for Pennsylvania made an attack upon the pole, a part of which they had resolved to carry with them as a trophy. They were discovered by some citizens who gave the alarm, and the Liberty boys rallied to the defense of the pole. More soldiers and more citizens came, and a serious conflict being imminent, the British officers ordered the soldiers to their barracks. The pole, notwithstanding some attempts to destroy it, was thereafter permitted to remain, guarded by the Liberty boys, an emblem of Liberty, until 1776, after the capture of the city by the British, when it was destroyed.

I have not given the details of the fierce conflicts which raged around these poles. They can be found in some of the local histories of the city of New York. The poles were the rallying point of the Patriots, and hence were offensive to the soldiers and the British authorities. These conflicts constitute chapters in the story of the struggles of the people of this country to achieve their liberty and independence.

It is clear, therefore, that at least five

Liberty poles were erected in the city of New York before the one erected at Fort Herkimer; and there must have been more at Boston and other populous places; and our local histories should as to this matter be corrected.

If it had been stated that our national flag was first unfurled in the Valley of the Mohawk, the interesting statement would have had the support of well authenticated history. The flag was adopted by the Continental Congress on the 4th of June, 1777, and was first flung to the breeze at Fort Stanwix on the 6th of August, 1777, the day of the Oriskany battle. It was extemporized out of a

white shirt, an old blue jacket and some strips of red cloth from the petticoat of a soldier's wife, and was defiantly displayed in the face of the beleaguering army of St. Ledger, with the English flags beneath it, which had that day been captured by Colonel Willett in the sortie he made from the fort. It was the first time any British soldier had seen the flag; and far distant be the time when it shall cease to wave "over the land of the free and the home of the brave," the sign of national independence, the emblem of freedom, the object of heroic devotion!

JOHN BROWN'S TRACT.

AN ADDRESS BY CHARLES E. SNYDER, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, December 8, 1896.

Considerable misapprehension exists as to the location and extent of John Brown's Tract; and little is generally known of its history. Sometimes Brown's Tract is spoken of as synonymous with the whole Adirondack region, and quite frequently it is associated historically with the career of John Brown, the anti-slavery agitator. Both of these popular conceptions are wrong. Brown's Tract in area comprises 210,000 acres of land, while the whole of the Adirondack region of the state is said to comprise some 3,000,000 acres. Instead of being associated with the career of John Brown, the abolitionist, it is connected historically with the career of John Brown of Providence, R. I., a famous Revolutionary patriot from whom the Tract derives its name.

Brown's Tract is located in the northern part of Herkimer county, extending east into Hamilton county and west into Lewis county. Three thousand acres of the tract are supposed to be in Hamilton county; about 40,000 acres in the county of Lewis, and the remaining 167,000 acres are in Herkimer county. Brown's Tract comprises about one-sixth of the total acreage of Herkimer county. Fortunately its history does not comprise one sixth of the history of the county.

Brown's Tract is traversed by two watersheds, the Beaver River and its

tributaries on the north and the Moose River and its tributaries on the south, while in the mountainous portions of the central part, Independence River and Otter Creek have their origin. Numerous lakes and small bodies of water are scattered throughout the Tract, ranging in size from small ponds up to Big Moose Lake and the Fulton Chain of Lakes, the larger portion of which is upon Brown's Tract. Many of these lakes and streams are surrounded by hills and mountains; large portions are covered with primeval forest making the Tract famous as a resort for sportsmen and tourists.

The Valley of the Moose River is said to have been one of the principal thoroughfares of the Indians in their expedition of war and the chase. Beginning at the North Branch of the Moose River, near the south boundary line of the Tract, a few miles above the junction of the north and south branches of the River, there extends a water communication for light canoes direct to Canada over the Fulton Chain of Lakes, thence by means of a short carry to Racquette Lake; thence down Racquette Lake and River into the St. Lawrence, or else by carries to Tupper Lake, Saranac Lake and River to Lake Champlain. Along this route the conducting Iriquois and Algonquim must

have paddled their birch canoes; and if the silent hills and forests could speak, they would tell us no doubt of ambuscades and fierce conflicts.

The local tribe of Indians which originally inhabited this region, as appears by the early records of this state, were variously spoken of as Rondaxe Indians, Adirondaks and even as Adirondacs. The meaning of the term is said to be tree-eaters. The Rondaxe Indians belong to the Algonquin Division of the Indian Race; and in the wars that occurred between the French Algonquin Indians and the Iriquois, the Rondaxe Indians took part with the Canadian Indians and being located so near the Iriquois, they must for a long time have borne the brunt of battle. This continued fighting apparently caused them to leave this region of the state, for in 1701, we find from the report of Robert Livingston, Secretary of Indian affairs for this State that the Rondaxe or Adirondaks Indians are named as one of the seven tribes of French Indians and their location was then said to be in Canada, south of Montreal.

Tradition has it that this old Indian route, above mentioned extends southerly through Remsen to the Mohawk Valley and is said to have passed along substantially in the same place as the old Brown's Tract Road, which will later on be noticed. During the Revolutionary War this route must have been considerably used by the Tories and Indians in their attacks upon the Colonist in this section of the State. It is along this route that Sir John Johnson passed from the Mohawk Valley through the wilderness to Canada; and from an incident connected with that expedition, Racquette Lake just east of Brown's Tract derives its name. This expedition of Johnson's was late in the winter and on reaching the Lake the party was overtaken by a sudden thaw which made travel on snow-shoes impossible, and as the Indians and Tories did not wish to carry their snow-shoes, or Racquettes, as they were termed in French, they piled them on the shores of the Lake covering them up, and made there a large heap

which remained for several years: hence the name Racquette Lake.

After the close of the Revolutionary War hunting parties of Oneida and Canadian Indians made considerable use of this line of communication across Brown's Tract in their hunting expeditions, which practice was continued to a time within the memory of a few old people now living. Between the Canadian Indians, the remnant of the Iriquois Indians, and the white pioneers, fierce conflicts frequently ensued ending in the death of the one who failed to shoot first. Attention will be called later on to incidents illustrating this phase of life in Brown's Tract.

Prior to the War of the Revolution, nothing was done towards the development or settlement of any part of Brown's Tract. Soon after the close of that war, there was a great land boom throughout the State. Acts of the Legislature were passed for the purpose of inducing settlement upon waste and unimproved lands; and from such glimpses as we can obtain of the condition of things at that time, speculation in land must have equaled in extent our own western land booms of which we sometimes hear at the present day.

On the 10th of January, 1792, the people of the State of New York patented and conveyed to Alexander Macomb, a famous soldier of the Revolutionary War, 1,920,000 acres of land. The price paid was seventy-two thousand pounds, which was at the rate of nine pence per acre. This grant included Brown's Tract. The land conveyed by the Macomb patent was bounded northerly and westerly by the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario and extended easterly and southerly to almost the center of the State. Its southern corner was a copper pin driven into the rocks in the center of the Adirondacks near what is now the middle of the west line of Hamilton county. Brown's Tract was subsequently carved out of the southeastern part of the Macomb purchase.

Macomb's various land speculations caused him to become financially embarrassed and on the 6th day of June,

1792, he conveyed the whole 1,920,000 acres to William Constable, of the City of New York, for fifty thousand pounds.

Six months thereafter, Constable conveyed 1,280,000 acres of this land, including Brown's Tract, to Samuel Ward, of the City of New York, for one hundred thousand pounds, thereby doubling his money besides having 64,000 acres of land left over.

Two years later, November 25th, 1794, Samuel Ward sold 210,000 acres in the southeastern part of his Tract to James Greenleaf, of New York City, for twenty-four thousand pounds. This was the commencement of the boundaries of Brown's Tract. Greenleaf mortgaged the land to Phillip Livingston; and subsequently gave a second mortgage to John Brown, of Providence, R. I. The Livingston mortgage was foreclosed and Brown, in order to save the money which he had invested in his second mortgage on December 29th, 1798, took the land at a foreclosure sale and from that date the local history of this land as Brown's Tract may be said to commence.

John Brown was born in Providence, R. I., in 1734. He was a descendent of Chad Brown, an associate of Roger Williams. The Brown family have always been one of the most noted and distinguished families of Rhode Island. It has given to Rhode Island a Governor and a United States Senator. Among the descendants of John Brown are the Herreshoffs, of Bristol, R. I., the boat builders, whose racing yachts, the "Vigilant" and "Defender," are well known. The name of the Rhode Island College which founded in 1764, was in 1804 changed to Brown University, in honor of John Brown, who was a liberal benefactor of that institution. John Brown early became engaged in marine commerce, so far as he could under the restrictions imposed upon Colonial Commerce by the Government of Great Britain. He is said to have been the first American Merchant-man to engage in trade with the East Indies.

In the troubled times immediately preceeding the out-break between the Colo-

nies and Great Britain, Brown took an active part on the side of the Colonists. As a young man, disguised as an Indian he led the attack on the British Revenue Schooner, "Gaspee," a vessel of eight guns which was captured by him and his men and burned. One author says, "Brown was the first man to board the schooner."

Speaking of the incident as among the causes which lead up to the Revolutionary War, Bancroft in his history of the United States says: "Inhabitants of Providence in Rhode Island had in March 1772 complained to the Governor of Lieutenant Duddington, Commander of the 'Gaspee.' Hopkins the Chief Justice on being consulted gave the opinion that any person who should come into the Colony and exercise any authority by the force of arms without showing his commission to the Governor, and if a Custome House Officer without being sworn into his office, was guilty of trespass if not of piracy. The Government therefore sent a Sheriff on board the 'Gaspee' to ascertain by what orders the Lieutenant acted, Duddington referred the subject to the Admiral who answered from Boston, 'The Lieutenant Sir, has done his duty. I shall give the King's Officers directions that they send every man taken in molesting them to me. As sure as the people of Newport attempt to rescue any vessel and any of them are taken I will hang them as pirates.' Duddington seconded the insolence of his superior officer, insulted the inhabitants, plundered the island of sheep and hogs, cut down trees, fired at market boats, detained vessels without a colorable pretext and made illegal seizures."

"In the afternoon of the 9th of June, the Providence packet was returning to Providence and proud of its speed went gaily on regardless of the 'Gaspee.' Duddington gave chase, the tide being about two hours on the ebb, the packet ventured near the shore. The 'Gaspee' confidently following ran aground without a chance of moving before high tide. Informed of the accident John Brown immediately raised a party of shipmast-

ers, embarked after nightfall in six or seven boats; they boarded the stranded schooner and after a fight in which Duddington was wounded, took and landed the crew and their personal property and then set the schooner on fire."

For bravery and daring this was not excelled by the Boston Tea Party or the capture of Fort Ticonderoga. As may well be imagined a great storm of rage arose on the part of the British; inquiries and investigations were had; and five hundred pounds were offered as a reward for evidence that would lead to the conviction of the perpetrators. Threats of execution as pirates were made on the part of the British, but all of no avail. While Brown and his associates were well known as having committed the act, a British Commission especially appointed for the purpose of investigation was powerless to obtain any evidence against him or his companions.

As will appear from the records of the State of Rhode Island, John Brown was a member of the Assembly during the entire war and served on its important committees; he was the head and front of the Naval committee.

He was a member of the Committee on Taxation, Parole of Prisoners and Division of captured stores. In those days every marine merchant was obliged to have on hand a considerable arsenal, so as to protect his vessels against pirates and this was especially so in the East Indies, where considerable of Brown's trading was carried on. Brown and his brothers supplied the Colony with guns, powder and ammunition.

After the close of the Revolutionary War, Brown was a representative in Congress from 1799 to 1801. He was a personal friend of Washington, who held him in high esteem, and among the choicest heirlooms of his family, are letters written him by Washington.

Brown died in 1803. His will is an interesting document and throws a considerable light on the business, customs and manners of the early days of the Republic.

Brown became interested in Brown's Tract through a supposed investment of

his son-in-law — Francis. The story is told by the descendants of Brown's family, that a cargo of East Indian merchandise had been landed and sold by Frances, who was an agent of Brown. Frances fell in with some land speculators and yielding to the real estate boom then so universally prevalent, is said to have invested \$50,000.00 of the money of John Brown in a second mortgage on Brown's Tract. This investment was from the start disapproved of by Brown and was a source to him and his family of considerable loss.

After Brown had acquired title to the land upon the foreclosure of the Livingstone mortgage, he began to take measures to develop and settle the country. He first caused a survey of the land to be made by Arnold Smith, Elkanah French and John Allen. The 210,000 acres were subdivided into eight Townships, which were numbered from one to eight consecutively, and also named. The names which Brown gave them are mottoes, which are said to have been used by him in his business career. Township No. 1, was named Industry and was surveyed into 160 acre farms. Township No. 2, was named Enterprise and was surveyed into one-half mile squares. Township No. 3, was named Perseverance and was also surveyed into one-half mile squares. Township No. 4, was named Unanimity, Township No. 5, Frugality, Township No. 6, Sobriety, Township No. 7, Economy, Township No. 8, Regularity.

After surveying the land Brown built a road through the forest from Remsen, Oneida County, to Township 7, upon his Tract a distance of about 25 miles. The road terminated near the south shore of the Middle Branch of the Moose River in the center of the Township about two miles from the south boundary line of his Tract, at which place he planned a settlement. The building of this road for a single individual, must have been a great undertaking. It crossed two considerable rivers, the Black River and the South Branch of the Moose River, besides several smaller streams. It crossed the Black River near the place

where the Mohawk & Malone Railway now crosses that stream, and went from thence in a northeasterly direction to the middle branch of the Moose River, crossing the south branch and following substantially, it is said, the old Indian Trail. Two settlements on the Tract were started by Brown; one upon Township 1, the other upon Township 7. The one upon Township 1, was known as the Middle settlement. The Middle settlement is now a mere tradition among a few old people. The remains of three houses are said to be still discernible in the woods, about six miles west of the Fulton chain along the old Remsen Road. This is all there is left of the Middle settlement. What was once a clearing has lapsed into a forest with only a few traces that it was ever the abode of man. The only mention made in the records relative to this settlement that I have found is in the will of John Brown wherein he states that upon Township 1, "There are two log houses, a good barn and a considerable of cleared land," In one of the conveyances from Brown's grandchildren of Township 1, three lots are excepted "at or near the Middle settlement, sold or contracted to be sold to one Wilcox," presumably one of the settlers.

At what is now Old Forge in Township 7, Brown built a saw mill, a grist mill, some houses and a frontier store.

All this was done prior to 1802, for in his will dated June 12th, 1802, we find the following in the schedule of assets: "Township 7, Economy, through which the large and fine river called Moose River runs and upon which I have made great improvements of a grist mill, saw mill, store etc."

Brown's aim was to make permanent settlements on the Tract and to convert the wilderness into farms. A mill dam was built across the mouth of the middle branch of the Moose River then called Mill Creek on the site of the present dam at Old Forge, for the purpose of obtaining power to run his saw mill and grist mill. The saw mill which he built is said to have been located in about the same place as the present saw mill at

Old Forge. His grist mill is said to have been erected on the opposite side of the river, a little lower down stream.

Brown, as far as I can find, was only once upon the Tract superintending its settlement. Its development here was intrusted almost entirely to agents. Personally Brown was a man of short stature and weighed in the neighborhood of three hundred pounds. He drove about in a specially constructed gig, built low, so as to make it possible for him to get in and out. However, notwithstanding these physical defects, his descendants, I am informed, have recently discovered a letter, showing that under all these personal disadvantages he made a visit to the Tract.

Brown did not long survive his attempted settlement; he died in 1803. How many settlers there were, and who they were and whence they came, is not known, so far as I have learned. The climate was cold and unfavorable for agricultural operations. The soil was poor; the location in the center of a large dreary forest, miles and miles away from any settlement. The tide of immigration was all towards the west, leaving this little community far to one side. Gradually the settlers whom he brought there left the place. Tradition says that the last to leave were two families by the name of Clark. According to the story two brothers of that name, who were among the settlers whom Brown brought to the Tract remained long after the others had left. One of the brothers was sick with cancer and while he was ill, the supplies gave out; the other brother started out through the forest to Remsen, miles away for aid. While he was absent a severe storm came up and swept away the bridge across the South Branch of the Moose River, which considerably delayed assistance; and finally when relief came the sick brother had been dead several days and had been buried by the wife and sister-in-law. The Clark families then moved away and the settlement was deserted, the houses being left tenantless and the mills being left to crumble. Trees, which are now of large size, began to grow in the

old Remsen Road, so that at the present time, in many places only woodsmen skilled in forest craft are capable of tracing out the road.

The fields which Brown cleared have become again a part of the forest. Stones which were picked up and piled in heaps by the farmers in clearing their fields are now all moss grown. Running through the forest where the old clearings were, are still to be found the back furrows of the plowmen. A few gnarled apple trees started by these early settlers are occasionally found struggling among the other trees that have since grown up. The remains of a few old chimneys at whose hearth-stones once gathered the early pioneer and his family and about which his children played are still scattered about. Of the grist mill, all that is now left is the mill stone lying in the bed of the river,

April 8th, 1811, the Legislature of the State passed an act entitled "An Act for the Improvement of the Internal Navigation of the State for the purpose of establishing a communication by means of a Canal Navigation between the Great Lakes and the Hudson River." A commission was appointed for the consideration of all matters relative to the subject.

Robert Fulton, the inventor of the steamboat, was appointed on the Commission. Fulton was at that time one of the foremost Engineers of the nation. He had made the building of canals a special study. Acting under this Commission from the Legislature, Fulton visited and explored the southern part of Brown's Tract for the purpose of ascertaining the adaptability of the streams and lakes of that region as a part of the proposed canal system. Stretching across the southern part of Brown's Tract was a beautiful chain of lakes, which Fulton explored and about which he was very enthusiastic. Since that trip these lakes have been known as the Fulton Chain.

During the war of 1812, a road was cut through the wilderness for military purposes from Albany to Sacket's Harbor, which passed just east of Brown's Tract. This old road was apparently

substantially well built. The ruins of many of the bridges are still to be seen; the ditches on the sides are in some places well defined, and growing in the former traveled way are trees at least a foot and a half in diameter. Over this road, during that war, soldiers were marched and munitions of war transported. The drum and fife for a time awoke the echoes of the wood; then gradually the forest began to re-assert itself and to the casual observer of today this old road is entirely blotted out.

By the will of John Brown the title to the larger part of Brown's Tract passed to his grandson, John Brown Francis, of Warwick, R. I. Francis was at one time a Senator, representing his State in the United States Senate, and subsequently became its Governor.

Soon after the close of the war of 1812, Francis began plans for the settlement of the Tract. During the intervening years the road cut out by Brown from Remsen, had become impassible and, preliminary to any settlement or development of the Tract, this road had either to be repaired or a new road built. In the meantime Boonville had become a lively and important settlement, being the trade center for all that section of the State. Accordingly Francis decided to cut out a new road from Boonville, instead of repairing the Remsen Road.

In 1816, he petitioned the Legislature for authority to cut a road from Boonville to the State road above mentioned, running from Albany to the St. Lawrence. Permission being given in that year and the succeeding year the Boonville Road to Brown Tract was cut out and opened.

Charles Frederick Herreshoff, an uncle of Francis, a son-in-law of John Brown, and a grandfather of the present boat builders at Bristol, R. I., became interested in this proposed settlement. Personally, Herreshoff is said to have been a fine appearing man of commanding size, enthusiastic in disposition, tenacious of purpose, though somewhat visionary perhaps. He was a man of many accomplishments, a fine linguist, and musician, qualities however, of not high

practical value in pioneer life. He was a Prussian by birth and came to this country shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War. Herreshoff purchased a considerable portion of Township 7, and came on from Rhode Island, sometime about 1817, for the purpose of settling and developing the Tract. Iron ore had been discovered near the old settlement and an iron works was projected and started. Herreshoff is said to have gathered together some forty families. The old clearings were again occupied; new clearings made and cabins built. An iron mine was opened nearly opposite the site of the depot at Fulton Chain, and on the westerly side where to this day is pointed out to the tourist a large hole in the rocks from which the ore was taken. Old drill marks are still to be seen about the mine at the entrance of which is a tree some eight inches in diameter growing up among refuse thrown out of the mine; while at the bottom, fed by little veins of pure cold Adirondack water is a well of some little depth. The place is sometimes spoken of as John Brown's well.

There was no power near the mine to operate an iron works, or to reduce the ore; and Herreshoff accordingly built a mill, or forge, about one and a half miles away near the dam across the middle branch of the Moose River previously built by Brown, his father-in-law. His forge is said to have been located just below the grist mill. Heavy machinery was taken through the woods and set up here in the heart of the forest. Considerable preparation was made for the manufacture of iron. A nail shop was started. Herreshoff built for himself what must have been in those days and for that place, a fine house, made of timber and boards, sawed at the old saw mill built by his father-in-law. The house was located nearly opposite the site of the railway depot, at Fulton Chain and on the westerly side and subsequently became known as the Arnold House. It was standing until about a year ago in a dilapidated condition when it was destroyed by fire. Herreshoff

also built a large barn a short distance from his dwelling, on the top of which was a cupalo in which a bell was placed for the purpose of summoning his men to their meals.

Coal was of course necessary for the reduction of iron ore, and for this purpose charcoal was manufactured. A hill a short distance from the Fulton Chain station, known as coal hill, was entirely cut over for the purpose of manufacturing charcoal. The visitor standing today, looking at this hill, unless skilled in wood craft would never mistrust that any of its timber had ever been cut. Occasionally in other places in the woods in that vicinity, old charcoal pits are to be met with. I have seen it stated that Herreshoff manufactured a ton of iron, every pound of which cost him a dollar. The accuracy of this statement I have been unable to verify. In any event, mining and the reduction of iron ore did not prove profitable. The ore was of low grade and is said to have contained considerable sulphur, which made its reduction difficult and expensive. About this time large iron mines were opened and worked in other portions of the state where iron could be produced much cheaper than upon Brown's Tract.

Herreshoff is said to have struggled heroically here against great odds. He planned for the conversion of the forest into farms and at the same time for the development of iron mines and iron works. The conditions for settling the country were of course just as unfavorable with Herreshoff as with Brown. The settlers whom he brought upon the Tract became discontented: poor soil, severe climate and isolation in the midst of a great forest, was more than Herreshoff could successfully contend with. Then he became indebted considerably to his miners and iron workers. The funds which he brought with him became exhausted. Drafts which he drew upon his family in Providence were returned unaccepted; and he was confronted with ruin. In the midst of his despair, 1819, he committed suicide by shooting himself in the head. The place

where he killed himself was just outside of his house: where as we shall see, subsequent tragedies were enacted. Herreshoff's body was brought to Boonville and buried. So ended a career of disappointed ambition. With the death of Herreshoff, the settlement broke up. The iron workers and miners left and gradually the settlers moved away.

One of the most noted settlers who came upon the Tract during Herreshoff's time, was Major Abiathar Joy, a soldier in the Revolutionary Army. Major Joy, originally came from Vermont and settled in Remsen in 1803. He purchased a 160 acre lot near the old Forge, in 1814, upon which he subsequently cleared about fifty acres and built a substantial house and barn. He kept his Remsen farm however, where a portion of his family resided and a portion went with him to Brown's Tract. This Joy clearing is on the road going from Old Forge to Nick's Lake.

Among the people attracted to Brown's Tract by Herreshoff's developments, was Nicholas Vincent, who came from Russia, Herkimer County. The Vincent place in Russia is now occupied by Leroy Moon. Vincent was by trade a nail worker and went to Brown's Tract and opened a nail factory or shop. In those days all nails were made by hand, each nail being separately fashioned on the anvil. While here, Vincent married Elizabeth, the daughter of Major Joy. This so far as I have learned, was the first wedding upon the Tract, save perhaps the red man's nuptials. The manner of the celebration of this event I have not learned. It is safe to say, however, that the wedding feast must have been replete with game and fish for which this region is so famous. Vincent is said to have been a great hunter and fisherman, and a beautiful lake where he used to fish, now known as Nick's Lake a few miles southwest of the Joy clearing was named in honor of Nicholas Vincent, the first bridegroom of John Brown's Tract. The Joys and Vincents kept up their Brown's Tract home several years. The journey in and out must have been a great undertaking, especially in the win-

ter time. Their descendants remember many stories of the difficulties met with in going back and forth from Russia to Brown's Tract. An ox team was generally used. The journey took them thirty miles through the woods. Snow three or four feet deep had to be shoveled away to make camp for the night, and stakes and poles cut to build a temporary shelter which was covered with hemlock boughs. Camp fires were built with flint, steel and punk wood, with which to frighten off the wolves and to keep themselves from freezing. Their bed was hemlock boughs. Can it be wondered at when the journey in and out was attended with such hardships, that the settlement was not a success.

Soon after Herreshoff made his attempted settlement at Old Forge in Township 7, Francis made an effort to settle Township 4. The settlement of Township No. 4, was begun in 1822 and was made in Lewis County, near the line between Herkimer and Lewis. As this portion of the history of Brown's Tract belongs, properly speaking, to Lewis County, it will here be only briefly mentioned. Francis first cut out a road through the woods to the place of his proposed settlement. The last five miles of this road must be in the same primitive condition today as when opened by Francis. A tourist describes it as follows: "The road the most of the way is paved—by nature—and the paving stones average perhaps two feet in diameter * * * The ride is to give one the feeling of being sifted out along the road through the bottom of the wagon * * * As a means of bodily exercise and as a promoter of digestion, that road stands out in bold relief. It winds through a leafy arch all loveliness except the bottom."

The plan adopted by Francis in his settlement of No. 4, was to give outright a farm to the first ten settlers. This plan was apparently quite taking for from 1822 to 1835, some seventy-five settlers were said to have been living at No. 4. Something like 2,000 acres were cleared in the settlement about No. 4. A school was started. For a time a pas-

or was stationed at the settlement and a revival was held. An era of activity was inaugurated, which lasted, however, for only a few years. The settlers here found the same discouraging circumstances as were met with on Township 7: poor, light soil, upon which little could be produced; cold, backward seasons and complete isolation. Stories of rich lands in the west circulated among the settlers and they too, like the settlers on Township 7, gradually abandoned their frontier homes.

The forest began to re-assert itself gradually, and crept into the clearings. The dwellings and buildings passed into decay, leaving only the remains of cellars and hearthstones. One of the early settlers of No. 4, was Orrin Fenton. Unlike his neighbors, Fenton seemed to be possessed of the spirit of thrift and economy, and in the midst of discouraging circumstances, he and his family prospered. He did not prosper however, as a farmer, but later on as a hotel, or boarding house keeper. This region of the country early became famous for sportsmen and tourists. Fenton entertained them and in this way added to his prosperity. The Fenton family is the only family of the early settlers at No. 4, who have continued there. That settlement has dwindled to a population now of only five families. The school was long ago abandoned. In the summer time Fenton's No. 4, has from 100 to 200 guests, so that now the forest thereabouts is lively with pleasure seekers, and resounds with the mirth of tourists, instead of the lowing of kine and the plowman's song, as was anticipated by Francis.

After the death of Herreshoff, a third and last attempt was made in 1831 by the Brown family to settle Township 7. Silas Thomas, originally from Rhode Island, was the agent in charge. He offered as an inducement 160 acres of land to the first ten settlers who would go there and settle provided they remained two years, and also to each family a cow and ten sheep. Some few settlers, ten families in all were gotten together. The settlers so far as I have learned were Silas Thomas, who was in

charge of the property and lived in the old Herreshoff place. Thomas had two married sons, by the name of Lewis and Isaac, both of whom moved upon the Tract with their families and in addition there were the following: Ephriam Justin, of Boonville, Green White, a hunter and trapper, Robert Pritchard, a blacksmith, Caleb Sweet and a few others. I am indebted to the daughter of Caleb Sweet, Mrs. George Hovey, of Forestport, N. Y., now an old lady 87 years of age, for an account of this third attempted settlement. The Sweet settlement was near the old Joy clearing and was made upon a clearing that had formerly been occupied. Most of these settlers took up old clearings. One man however, is said to have gone upon First Lake and to have made a clearing. At that time the saw mill that had been built by Brown had so far gone into decay as not to be used. The grist mill was in poor condition but could still grind. There was no miller and each settler ground his own corn. The Old Forge mill built by Herreshoff was a plaything for the children: it was their favorite amusement to go down to the mill, let the water on the wheel and start the machinery to see the big hammer play with which they broke up stones. A school was started. It was taught one summer in the deserted barn on the Joy clearing by Emeline Sperry, who came from Russia. There were 15 pupils attending school. During this time Indian hunters were frequently met with in the woods, both Canadian and Oneida Indians. Moose were then very plenty. The children of the settlement had at one time a tame moose for a pet. The settlers found a nursery of apple trees which had been planted years before by Brown in his attempted settlement. Some of these trees were taken up and in a few instances orchards started. The same discouraging features, however, existed as in the former settlements and in a few years the settlers and their families had all gone. This was the last attempt at settlement made by the Brown family. As one of the causes of disintegration attending this last settle-

ment, mention should be made of the settlers wives, all of whom it is said, protested vigorously against this isolation. Society here had but few attractions. The only social event occurring during this period of which I have learned was a basket picnic on July 4th, 1821, up to the Fourth Lake, Fulton Chain. This was the first known picnic excursion to a lake which has now become famous for such purposes.

After the abandonment of this settlement, the celebrated hunter and trapper, Nathaniel Foster, became a resident of Brown's Tract living at the old Herreshoff place. Foster is a man about whom much has been said and written; and the history of Brown's Tract would be quite incomplete without an account of Uncle Nat, as he was generally called.

The father of Nathaniel Foster, Nathaniel Foster, Sr., originally came from Rhode Island. Prior to the Revolutionary War, he settled with his family at Hensdale, Windom County, N. H. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Foster enlisted in the Regular Army, leaving his wife and four children to support themselves. He remained with the army seven years and ten months without returning home. He accompanied Arnold in his expedition up the Mohawk to the relief of Fort Stanwix. While on the trip he became so well pleased with the Mohawk Valley, the fertility of its soil etc., that he determined to remove here when the war was over. Soon after his discharge from the Army, he started with his family and some of his neighbors for the Mohawk Valley. He got as far as the east branch of the Hudson River when the funds and supplies of the family gave out and they were obliged to temporarily locate. Indians were then quite common throughout the country, and although the contending whites had ceased hostilities, it took some considerable time for the Indians to comprehend that fighting must stop.

During this time bands of Indians still prowled about and committed various depredations. At this period of his life there occurred an incident which perhaps explains somewhat Foster's

hatred of Indians. One day while the family were engaged in the fields at work, a band of Indians made a descent upon the Foster home and carried away their daughter, Sybil. A rescue party of which young Foster was a member went in pursuit, overtook the Indians, and rescued the girl.

As young Foster and his brothers grew up so as to begin life for themselves they started for the Mohawk Valley, which had so long been a land of promise for the family, but when they reached the valley, they found that since their father's expedition with Arnold all the land had been taken up. Foster first settled in Manheim, near where William Peck now lives. Here for a time he lived a pioneer life. For a few months of the year he farmed it, while the rest of the time he hunted and trapped. As game became scarce in Salisbury and Manheim, he gradually extended his hunting and trapping back into the woods, and finally Brown's Tract became the scene of his principal operations. Foster was the type of a man which has long since disappeared. He was one of much the same type as Nattie Bumpo, who supplied Cooper with his Deer Slayer, Path Finder, Hawk Eye and Pioneer. Foster, however, was never immortalized by a Cooper.

During this time hunting parties of Indians were frequently met with in the woods. Between these Indians on the one hand and the white hunters, such as Major Stoner and Nathaniel Foster on the other, there was almost continual fighting. The Indians would steal Foster's furs and traps and camp outfit. The only security against such thefts would be prompt and swift retaliation. It is said to have been the white hunter's rule never to let the same Indian steal twice. We are also to bear in mind that during this period, there existed an almost universal hatred against the Indians, fierce in its intensity, brought about largely by the bloody and cruel part which the Indians had taken in the Revolutionary War, which is still fresh in the minds of the people. Brown's Tract was a rich hunting ground and

many are the border fights which occurred there. It may be interesting to note that this custom of the Indians' using Brown's tract for purposes of hunting and trapping is still remembered by a few old people now living. Canadian Indians from the north would gradually work their way through the forest, hunting and trapping as they went, taking their furs to the Albany market; and it was not an unfrequent sight for the early settlers at No. 4, to see at times, Indians proudly walking through the forest past the settlement, guns in hand ready for an emergency, while on behind trudged the patient squaws, drawing rude sleds made of birch saplings, loaded with furs and camp outfit. These sleds were made of two birch saplings, over the lower end of which cross pieces were placed and upon these were piled the furs and camp outfits, while between the upper ends of the saplings which projected out and up like a pair of wagon thills, trudged the faithful squaw, drawing the whole by means of a band passed over her forehead. Fierce drinking carousals would be indulged in by the Indians upon reaching the frontier tavern, and for these sprees they would plan systematically. They would plan to always have one sober Indian in the lot. Before commencing their drunk, they would turn over to the Indian who was to remain sober all their weapons and place themselves absolutely under his control. His word for the time being must be obeyed; and power of execution was also given to such an extent it is said, that if they did not obey, he had the right then and there of summarily killing in order to secure obedience. The same Indian stayed sober one day only, when his place was taken by another who must sober up and refrain from drinking for the next day. In this way the Indians controlled themselves while drinking and from this custom originated the phrase sometimes met with today, "One sober Indian in the lot."

In February, 1832, Nathaniel Foster purchased an assignment of a lease of the Herreshoff place on Brown's Tract.

There was upon the Tract at that time, three other hunters and trappers who lived in the abandoned homes of the Herreshoff settlers. Soon after Foster had established himself in the old Herreshoff place a Saint Regis Indian, named Peter Waters, familiarly known as Drid, temporarily located in that vicinity for a hunt. Between Foster and this Indian a quarrel arose. Drid threatened the life of Foster on several occasions and the quarrel reached such a degree of intensity that it only became a question of who should shoot first. Foster was then sixty years of age, while the Indian was about thirty.

One morning while Foster was across the river from the Herreshoff place, at the Camp of Johnson which must have been in the Sweet house, planning a hunt to Fourth Lake, the Indian came in, assaulted Foster with a knife and made a furious attempt upon his life. Johnson interfered and Foster withdrew. Going home Foster obtained his rifle and cut across the country, nearly opposite to First Lake where a point of land projects into the water; here he stationed himself behind the bushes and waited for the Indian, whom he expected was on his way to Racquette Lake. Soon Drid together with a party of others came paddling along. Drid evidently was expecting trouble, for he kept the other canoes of the party between him and the shore. This position however, was no security for the Indian, Foster's aim was too certain and accurate. As Foster arose to fire the Indian caught a glimpse of him, and threw up his hands in terror just as two bullets entered his body.

Some time after killing the Indian, Foster was arrested by the authorities of Lewis County. After his arrest it was found that the killing was committed in Herkimer county and he was accordingly removed here to the Herkimer jail. I have met a few old people who remember him while here in jail.

The trial of Foster was a remarkable one from a legal standpoint. He was tried here at Herkimer, February 1834. The court was composed of Hon. Hiram

Denio, presiding, who was one of the great judges of this state, and Jonas Cleveland, of Warren, John B. Dygert, of Frankfort, father of Mrs. Thomas Richardson, of Ilion, Abijah Osborn, of Herkimer, and Richard Herrenden, of Newport, were the side judges of the Common Pleas. When the defence was reached one of the witnesses was asked "Did you ever hear this Indian threaten to kill Foster?" To this the District Attorney objected. Judge Denio held the testimony to be inadmissible, when much to his surprise and astonishment, three of the side judges announced that it was admissible, thereby overruling Judge Denio's law. Under this ruling of the side judges, Foster was permitted to prove that the Indian had threatened to kill him, and upon this evidence was acquitted. It is interesting to note that the Court of Appeals subsequently in the Fisk-Stoke's murder case, substantially affirmed the law promulgated by these side judges. After his release Foster abandoned his Brown's Tract home. It is said that he became afraid of the Indian relatives of Drid. He went to the wilds of Pennsylvania for a time, where he continued his life as a hunter and trapper. In his old days he came to Boonville, where he resided with one of his children and there died. One of the Foster brothers went to Ohio, from whom it is said Ex-Secretary Foster is descended.

Many stories are told of the prowess of Foster as a hunter and trapper. There appears little doubt that in his younger days he used to hunt Indians and in turn was hunted by them. He used to be fond of telling of his encounters with Indians, but was always careful not to incriminate himself. For example, Foster at one time was hunting when he discovered that he was followed by an Indian. Foster crossed a little ravine on a fallen log and waited on the other side behind a place of concealment. Soon he saw the Indian cautiously stealing up from behind trees; when the Indian came to the ravine and discovered Foster's tracks where he had crossed on the log he gave an exultant "humph" to

himself and started to cross. As told by Foster that Indian, when he reached the middle of the log must have been seized with a fit of some kind, for he suddenly fell off the log to the ground below and never got up again. Such was life on Brown's Tract in those days.

After Foster left Brown's Tract, Otis Arnold moved into the Herreshoff's house, and for years he and his family lived there alone farming on the clearings. Year by year, however, the number of sportsmen visiting this region increased; so that later on he did a good business during the hunting and fishing season in entertaining sportsmen.

Many accounts are to be met with of visits to Arnold's during this period, all of which are entertaining. But the length to which this paper has already reached permits of only a meager reference to one or two. In the Autumn of 1855 the Honorable Amelia M. Murray. Maid of Honor to Queen Victoria, went over the lake belt of the wilderness with Horatio Seymour, Mr. Seymour's nieces and other friends. On their way out they stopped at Arnold's and the story in the diary of Lady Amelia is in these words: "Mr. Seymour remained to make arrangements with the guide, while his niece and I walked on to Arnold's farm, there we found Mrs. Arnold and six daughters. These girls aged from 12 to 20 were placed in a row against one wall of the shanty, with looks so expressive of astonishment that I felt puzzled to account for their manner, until their mother informed us that they had never before seen another woman than herself. I could not elicit a word from them, but at last when I begged for a little milk, the eldest went and brought me a glass. I then remembered that we had met a single hunter rowing on Moose River, who called out 'Where on earth did they woman come from.'"

Another tourist, Wallace in his "Babes in the Wood," gives this account of a visit to Arnold's. "As we approached the house we passed through a yard where the daughters of the family were engaged in milking, with a little smoking fire beneath every cow. Here was a

new feature. Such remarks as the following greeted the ears of the fair milkers, 'if they are not smoking their beef with the skins on * * * I have heard of building fires under balky horses, but I fail to see the necessity of serving cows that way'. * * * 'Boys can't you see that this is done as a matter of domestic economy? The gradual and increased warmth acts upon the udder of the animal and through this upon the lacteal contents thereof, producing a sort of coagulation whereby the creamy globules are precipitated.' 'By this time we had begun to learn by experience that the smouldering fires were smudges to drive the punkies from the cows so that they might be milked in peace.' Here perhaps, is another reason why the Brown and Herreshoff settlements proved disastrous. Unless they knew how to manage punkies they certainly did a wise thing in moving away.

September 18th, 1868, another tragedy was enacted at this old Herreshoff building. James Short, a guide of Warrensburg, Warren County, stopped at Arnold's in making a trip through the woods. While there he purchased of Arnold's son a hound and subsequently a strap and chain from a man working on the place. As Short was ready to go he called the dog and commenced putting on the collar, when Otis Arnold stepped forward and claimed the collar. A quarrel ensued in which Arnold shot the guide, who lived about five hours and died. Arnold then left the house and went to Nick's Lake, a favorite resort of his, where he filled his pockets with stones and tied a large boulder around his neck, and then he rowed his boat to the center of the lake "and threw himself, a victim of remorse, into the clear water. A plunge, a gasp, a ripple and Otis Arnold was before his only judge." Such was the tragic death of the last resident of the old Herreshoff place.

From time to time, Brown's Tract has been a resort for hermits and refugees. During the late Civil War men occasionally fled to this part of the forest to escape the draft. Among the most famous hermits and recluses of Brown's Tract, were

Dave Smith and Jimmie O'Kane, as they were commonly known in the woods.

When the early sportsmen first began penetrating into the forest, above Fenton's No. 4, they found at Still water, Township No 5, on the Beaver River, living alone in a little cabin, a strange character by the name of David Smith, about whom many romantic stories cling. The mystery of his life, no one so far as I have learned, has ever discovered. Some claim that he went to the woods on account of the death of his fiancée, others maintain that he sought refuge there because his wife made it too interesting for him at home, while still others insist that he was a political refugee from a foreign country, hiding here in the midst of the forest. All accounts of him agree that he was not a hunter and trapper. The deer it is said, used to come about his place without fear. Smith carefully shunned these early sportsmen who occasionally came to his place. Year by year, however, their number increased to his annoyance so that finally to avoid them, he packed up his things and moved on farther into the forest, going up the river to its source to a large lake on the shores of which he made a small clearing and built a cabin. Here he lived for several years undisturbed. But gradually the sportsmen worked their way back farther into the woods, where they again found Smith on the shores of this lake. The lake became known as Smith's Lake, now Lake Lia, upon the shores of which Dr. Webb has built him a beautiful forest lodge. Smith endured the occasional presence of these sportsmen for a while, hiding in the woods when the hunters were about, until returning one season they found Smith's cabin empty and deserted. Where he went, what became of him and why he "took to the woods" are still favorite subjects of speculation around the camp fires of this portion of the Adirondacks.

After the building of Beach's road, a romantic character by the name of James O'Kane, found his way here into the wilderness and at Stillwater on the Beaver River in Township 5, took pos-

session of one of the shanties built by Beach in constructing his road and lived there by himself for several years. Unlike Smith, he did not hide from hunting and fishing parties; but on the contrary, sometimes entertained them and mingled with them. O'Kane is said to have commenced an education in Ireland for the priesthood; but before taking orders become involved in an unfortunate brawl and is said to have killed a man upon which account he fled and came to this country; and here in Brown's Tract sought refuge. He lived here by himself with a few books, chief among which was a well worn Bible, until 1853, when a party of hunters going past his shanty and noticing its deserted appearance stopped and went in. Here they found him dead on his couch, his hands clasped as if in prayer.

The settlement and development of the Adirondacks was for a long time a favorite project on the part of the state, and from time to time laws having this object in view were enacted. The inaccessibility of the region was always considered a serious drawback, and to open up the country from time to time roads were directed to be built. A study of the Session Laws for a period of about 40 years will disclose many contemplated projects for subduing the wilderness. It was substantially gridironed with state roads, nearly all of which have fallen into a condition of desuetude. The principal of these roads crossing Brown's Tract, were the Carthage and Lake Champlain Road and the Herkimer, Hamilton and Lewis Road.

In 1841 the Legislature directed a road to be built from Lake Champlain to Carthage, in Jefferson County. It was supposed that a road direct through the wilderness from Carthage to Lake Champlain would be of great public benefit in placing the northeast and northwest parts of the state in direct communication, and would open up the country for settlement. The work of building this road was under charge of Nelson Beach, of Lewis County, and the road is sometimes known as Beach's road. This

road crosses the northern part of Brown's Tract through the valley of the Beaver River. Like all projects of development the road was a failure. It is said that only one team went over its whole length from Carthage to Lake Champlain. The eastern and western parts of this road are still used to some extent; the middle portion however, has long ago grown up to trees and become wholly impassible. The part crossing Brown's Tract remained so that teams could drive over it until a few years ago when a State Reservoir was built on the Beaver River at Stillwater which submerged a considerable portion of the road.

In 1850 the heirs of John Brown sold out their interest in Brown's Tract except Township 6, to Lyman R. Lyon, of Lyons Falls, Lewis County, N. Y., for the sum of \$18,500. Today the Tract would be worth about \$1,000,000, at least.

After Lyon purchased the Tract he conveyed a two-thirds interest to Frederick Hollister and Theodore P. Ballou.

In 1848 the Sacketts Harbor & Saratoga Railroad Company was incorporated for the purpose of constructing a railroad from Sacketts Harbor to Saratoga. The right of preemption was given as to certain State lands by which means considerable public land was obtained. It was considered that a railroad through the Adirondacks connecting Lake Ontario with the Hudson River would be of great benefit, so much so that its property was exempt from taxation for a considerable period. This railroad company and its successors subsequently acquired title by various intermediate deeds and conveyances from Hollister and Ballou to about two-thirds of the entire Brown's Tract. The history of this company and its successors is one long series of financial failures and disappointments, mortgage foreclosures, reorganizations and receiverships. So far as an active operating railroad is concerned it never developed beyond a short branch running north from Saratoga to the North Creek, now known as the Adirondack Railroad, which is a part of the D. & H., system. The route of the old Sacketts Harbor &

Saratoga Railroad Company crossing Brown's Tract as it did, considerable was expected from it for the development of that region. Today the traveler going from Lowville to No. 4, Brown's Tract can see on one side of the road a high embankment grown over with bushes and small trees and a large stone culvert in the same unfinished condition as left when the funds ran out nearly fifty years ago, a monument of an ineffectual attempt to subdue the wilderness. The Mohawk & Malone Railroad was the first and only railroad to be built and operated across this Tract which was constructed some forty years later upon an entirely different route.

Such is a brief outline of the history of John Brown's Tract. It may be char-

acterized as almost a hundred years war between man and the rude forces of nature. The Tract is in much the same condition as when the pioneer first turned to it his attention. Time here has wrought less changes than elsewhere. The Indian has gone, the moose has disappeared, the beaver, panther and wolf are now traditions of the old time hunter and trapper; still as to much of the Tract,

"This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and hemlocks,
Bearded with moss and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight.
Stand like Druids of Eld with voices sad and prophetic,
Stand like Harpers Hoar with beards that rest on their bosoms."

1897 PAPERS.

THE ROYAL GRANT.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE W. SMITH, OF HERKIMER,

Deivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, January 5, 1897.

The local annals of man wherever he has dwelt furnish incidents and details that appeal to the kinship of human nature. From a narrow to the broadest scenes of human action there are links of interest and sympathy that bind communities and generations together. In the life, the experience, the sacrifice and peril, the defeats and the triumphs of the humblest of our ancestors are found the sources and materials from which the philosophy of history is deduced, and they afford an abiding charm.

When we look to the struggles and the harsh experience of foregone generations and contemplate the efforts that founded new societies, when we consider how they wrought out for us a larger sphere of life and more varied opportunities, when we see how they opened the way to a future of liberty, happiness and greatness for their successors, we hail them as a common ancestry and yield to them a reverence that we do not accord to our fellow men of the present day.

The actions that animated that foretime when studied appear with larger significance, its leading events are seen in their relations to their wider consequences and are marked as epochs of progress. The nobler are hallowed, and the contrasting lights and shadows blend in a picture that becomes the delight of posterity.

The grandeur of the present owes a tribute to the fortitude and self-denial, to the heroism, to even the humbler labors that laid the foundations of so large a fabric. The conspicuous great could not have builded had not the unnamed commons worked to the same ends; all these ancestral actors played, if not leading, still essential parts in the opening scenes of a drama still unfolding. Military prowess, wisdom in statesmanship, could have availed little without the fruitful labors of those who toiled in obscurity. Modern historians find the more vital forces of the social and political system in the once neglected annals of the masses, in the tendencies that unfold man's capacities and open a path for the general advance. History begins to display the progress of man, as man—that democracy which Bancroft says is "Humanity without its accidents."

The purpose of this paper is to give some account of the Royal Grant, that twice royal gift to Sir William Johnson, first from the barbarian king of the Mohawks, and then from the king of Great Britain. Prior to 1761 the territory lying to the north of the Mohawk river, between the East Canada creek and the West Canada creek, extending to the St. Lawrence river, excepting the Burnetsfield Patent granted to the Palatines in 1725, Glen's purchase, and some small tracts, was the possession of the Mohawk

tribe of the Iroquois Confederacy, or Six Nations. The Algonquin tribes claimed, and sometimes tried to assert dominion as far south as Lake George and the Adirondack highlands, but the Mohawks were the virtual possessors of this region.

This union of aboriginal tribes formed for government and conquest, and marking as it did some distinct advance from the life of hunters and fishermen, had no parallel in the history of the North American Indians. The tribes composing the Six Nations were more largely endowed with intellect, executive capacity and enterprising spirit than any other of the aborigines. At what time they assumed the title of *Oh-gue-hon-we*, "Men superior to all others," cannot be known, as this tribal league existed long before Europeans came in contact with them, but we may suppose it was after they had justified this proud pretension by the opening exploits of that career which carried their arms to Canada and to Hudson's Bay, and threatened the French in Montreal and Quebec. Their forays are said to have been pushed beyond the Mississippi and near to the Isthmus of Darien. They made themselves masters of an undefined territory about and beyond the waters of the Potomac, and along the banks of the Ohio to the Mississippi, and they held dominion over a considerable territory between the Ottawa river and Lake Huron. The Hurons of the Isle of Orleans, to save themselves from the fury of the Mohawk tribe, asked admission into that tribe, a purpose from which they were dissuaded by the French. In a war at that time the French were compelled to submit to their terms; they sent thirty of their warriors to Quebec to demand certain Hurons who had taken refuge there and took them away upon their imperative demand addressed to the French governor and with which he was constrained to comply: "Lift up thy arm, Onontio, and allow thy children whom thou holdest pressed to thy bosom to depart, for if they are guilty of any wrong, have reason to dread lest coming to chastise them, my blow fall on thy head."

At a treaty held at the forks of the Delaware between the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and the Six Nations, in 1758, the controversy among certain tribes claiming lands in New Jersey was settled by the imperative dictation of the Iroquois chief to those tribes, ordering them to restore prisoners and to be at peace with the English. Forty-six years before, when the governor of Pennsylvania complained of the Delawares, who refused to remove from land they had sold to that State, a chief of the Iroquois ordered them to depart, after a reprimand, and, in concluding, said: "After our just reproof and absolute order to depart from the land, you have now to take notice of what we have further to say to you. This string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children and your grandchildren, to the latest posterity, from ever meddling in land affairs, neither your children, nor any who shall descend from are ever hereafter to sell any land. For this purpose you are to preserve this string in memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some other business to transact with our brethren, and therefore depart you the council and consider what has been said to you."

Having conquered the Shawnese on the Wabash, the Iroquois only consented, on the mediation of Governor John Penn, to allow them to settle in the western part of Pennsylvania, but compelled them as a mark of their subjection to wear female attire. Such are some of the instances that show the lofty and arbitrary sway of the Iroquois over the tribes that they had subdued or intimidated throughout a large part of North America—an imperial tone that reminds us of the language by which the Roman Senate dictated the fate of provinces, and gave law to vanquished kings. Of this savage league, exhibiting such a thirst for conquest and power, the Mohawks had the hegemony and exercised the chief leadership, the war chief of the Confederacy being selected from that tribe. At the council held at Fort Stanwix in 1768, for the purpose of fixing the boundary line between the English and the Six Nations the Mohawks were de-

clared by the other tribes to be the "true ancient head of the Confederacy," from which it may be inferred that they were regarded as the original nucleus around which the Confederacy was formed. The name of Mohawk was often used to represent the whole Confederacy. Accessions to the league probably occurred from events like those which caused the exodus of the Tuscaroras who were driven out from western North Carolina after their conspiracy against the whites. They were admitted to the league about 1714, and lands were assigned them by the Oneidas, lying between their possessions and those of the Onondagas, and thus this fugitive tribe became the sixth member of the Confederacy, afterwards known as the Six Nations.

The prowess of these tribes in war, their masculine wisdom and oratory in council, their sagacious and refined policy in framing their federal government, far surpassing any of the other tribes, their adoption into their own body of the remains of conquered or fugitive tribes, the popular genius that controlled their public affairs, justify the title given them of the "Romans of the New World," and their policy of annexing other communities to their growing league is no remote suggestion of the operation of our own federate system. The inquiry what this Indian Heptarchy might have become by its internal development and external growth, if they had not been arrested by the invading and superior power of advanced civilizations, might form an interesting chapter in the conjectural history of the possible progress of races and peoples, whose destiny, like those of Mexico and Peru, has been changed by foreign invasion. We might imagine

"A glory that hath passed away,
While yet it never was;
The twilight lustre of a sun
That never fully rose,"

Chief Hendrick, later styled King Hendrick, was chief of the Mohawks. He was long and intimately associated with the English; he adopted their dress and lived in a house near the Indian Castle church in Danube. He attended the congress of the commissioners from eight of

the colonies convened at Albany in 1754 to consult on Indian affairs, and to concert a policy of colonial union in view of the existing war between Great Britain and France. In that congress, attended by such characters as Benjamin Franklin and Sir William Johnson, the one the Great Commoner of the colonial and revolutionary era, the other the most eminent and illustrious representative of the British crown, King Hendrick was heard with great attention and respect, and he is said to have been the chief speaker in that body, whether heard for the wisdom and weight of his opinions or from a politic deference to the greatness of the Confederate chiefs, we need not inquire. Something of his position and tone of thought we discover in the following sentences. He did not hesitate to reproach the supineness of the colonists, and said: "We thank you for renewing and brightening the Covenant chain. We will take this belt to Onondaga, where our Council fire always burns, and keep it so securely that neither the thunder bolt nor the lightning shall break it. Strengthen yourselves and bring as many as you can into this Covenant chain. Look at the French; they are men; they are fighting everywhere. But we are ashamed to say it, you are like women. It is but one step from Canada hither, and the French may come easily and turn you out of doors." The following year he fell at the battle of Fort George, where he fought under Sir William, on the side of the British.

Hendrick held Sir William in high esteem; and from him, or certainly on account of the attachment felt for him by the Mohawk chiefs, Sir William became the donee of the famous Royal Grant to which he gave the name of Kings Land. The tradition usually accepted as to this royal gift, is to the effect that Hendrick's eye and savage fancy for personal adornment were attracted by a finely embroidered coat which Johnson had lately procured for himself, and he announced to him that he had the night before dreamed that Johnson had made him a present of the coat. Knowing the superstitious reliance of the Indians upon

dreams, and also the good policy of complying with this virtual request, he at once handed the coat to the chief. Soon after Johnson visited King Hendrick and informed him that he too had a dream. Hendrick asked, "What did my pale-faced brother dream?" "I dreamed," said Johnson, "that the tract of land," describing the lands bounded by the Mohawk and the two Canada creeks and northwesterly by objects known to them, "was all my own." The chief would not be outdone in generosity, even at this enormous odds, and after some deliberation, added, "Brother, the land is yours, but you must not dream again."

This tradition, like so many other traditions, has been discredited as a mere fiction. Writers refer to the fact that Hendrick was killed at the battle of Fort George, April, 1755, while the petition of Sir William for liberty to make this purchase from the Indians was not presented to the Colonial Council until July, 1761; but it is obvious that the assent of the other chiefs might not have been obtained for a long time after the gift, and other causes of delay may have intervened, and it is said that the story was current in Sir William's life time; and as it was of a character not wholly favorable to his reputation for just dealing, he would have denied it if untrue. Again, Stone's life of Sir William states that he received only 3,000 acres for his dream, and that the lands in the Royal Grant were given to him by the Mohawk chiefs as a token of their esteem; that he accepted it for fear of offending them by refusing it, and insisted on making a present of \$12,000 in return. Benton cites Judge Haring as authority for the statement that Sir William dreamed for the land embraced in the Kingsborough Patent on which he built his mansion, and not for the lands of the Royal Grant. The balance of the evidence, however, seems to be on the side of the dream, and it will be popularly regarded as the source of Sir William's title as long as these lands shall be conveyed or descend.

To obtain legal sanction to the Mohawk chieftain's gift, Sir William presented a petition in 1761 to the Colonial presi-

dent and council, praying that he and thirty-nine others therein named might have the license of the council to purchase in the king's name, from the Indians, 40,000 acres in order to enable them to obtain the king's letters patent therefor. The assent of the president and council having been obtained the petition and subject of the grant was considered by the king in privy council, and letters patent were issued pursuant to the application in 1765.

This grant had the peculiar distinction of bearing the sign manual of George III in person which does not appear to have been attached to any other of the patents granted during the Colonial era, and the name, "Royal" Grant was probably due to this fact. The petition, it will be noticed, asked for 40,000 acres only, and it professed that the purpose was to secure to each petitioner one thousand acres. If this was the intention it does not seem to have been observed, as by the will of Sir William executed in 1774, he disposes of the whole of the Royal Grant to his own family with the expression of his will and desire that none of it should ever be sold or alienated. Besides this the boundaries actually contained 93,000 acres, 53,000 acres more than was specified in the petition.

The boundaries of the Grant are given in the petition substantially as follows: "Beginning at the northwesterly corner of the rear line of a patent purchased by Teady McGin, surveyed by his widow, Sarah McGin, which said corner is on the bank of the creek or kill called by the Indians, Dekayaronwe, about thirteen miles from the Mohawk river, which creek falls into the Mohawk about two hundred yards below Fort Hendrick, or Canajoharie Castle, thence running from said northwesterly corner of said McGin's rear line, a westerly course to the west bank of another creek or kill called by the Indians Deyosh-ter-awan, and by the Christians at Burnetsfield, Canada kill, thence along the west side of said creek to the lands patented formerly, so down to the Mohawk river then running around the several tracts of land already patented within the above mentioned

two creeks from the rear line quite to the Mohawk river, containing about 40,000 acres of land." From the fact that the west boundary was run on the west side of the creek it is likely that Sir William was aware of the valuable water power of this stream and for that reason made a shrewd extension of Hendrick's gift so as to include its waters.

The northerly boundary ran from a point on the East Canada creek in the village of Devereaux, a pine stump, which the writer remembers was many years ago stated to be the point of departure, thence northerly to the West Canada creek by a line running north of the village of Prospect, as stated by Benton, and in fact as far north as Gang Mills or Hinckley.

The settlement now the village of Devereaux was in the early years of the century designated as the "Corner of the Grant," later as Nicholasville, in 1832 as East Creek, and in 1834 as Devereaux, named from Henry Devereaux. This territory embraced all the territory lying between the East Canada creek and the West Canada creek south of the Jersey-field Patent, north of the Mohawk excepting Glen's Purchase, a few lots in Burnettsfield Patent, and some small patents in Manheim. The towns of Norway, Newport, Russia, Fairfield Manheim and Salisbury lie wholly or mainly within its limits, and smaller portions of the grant lie in Little Falls and Herkimer.

The will of Sir William devises his lands in this grant as follows: To his son, Sir John Johnson, 50,000 acres in the northwesterly part; to Col Daniel Claus 10,000 acres adjoining the devise to Sir John; 10,000 acres adjoining the last named to his son-in-law, Guy Johnson; to Peter Johnson, his natural son, by Mary (Molly) Brant, 4,000 acres next to the Mohawk river, and another strip of land "almost opposite the house of Honnical (General) Herkimer"; to his other Indian children by Molly Brant, viz: Elizabeth, Magdalene, Margaret, George, Mary, Susanna, Anne, and to two of his Indian children not children of Molly Brant, viz: Young Brant and William,

tracts of 1,000 to 3,000 acres each, and "To my prudent and faithful housekeeper, Molly Brant, mother of the before mentioned eight children, lot one, being part of the Royal Grant, now called Kingsland, and is opposite to the land whereon Honnical (General) Herkimer now lives."

In regard to these several devises of the Kingsland or Royal Grant land, the will enjoins upon the devisees as follows: "As his present Majesty, George the Third, was graciously pleased as a mark of his favor and regard to give me a patent under the great seal for the tract of land now called Kingsland, and that without quit rent, except a trifling acknowledgement to be paid yearly, it is my will and desire that no part of it be ever sold by those to whom I have devised it, as that would be acting contrary to my intentions and determined resolution."

The letters patent recite that by a deed poll dated on or about the 27th day of December, 1760, "Brant alias Araghigadecka and divers other native Indians of Canajoharie, in the county of Albany, "calling themselves sole and absolute proprietors," in consideration of the love, good-will and regard which they had and bore towards their affectionate Brother and Friend the Honorable Sir William Johnson, alias Warraghrigagsy, of the Mohawk country, Baronet, as well as in justice and gratitude to him for the well-timed support and credit he had formerly given to their people, many of whom being dead since and those living unable to make him a proper recompense any other way" did make to Sir William and his associates a grant of said tract, "described on the back of said deed by the Indians themselves, to prevent any dispute, containing about 80,000 acres."

The specifications of the grant in the letters patent are in great detail being "all rights, members and appurts (sic) underwood, trees, timber, feedings, pastures, meadows, marshes, swamps, ponds, pools, ways, passages, waters, water-courses, rivers, rivulets, runs and streams." The grant is "in consideration of the faithful services rendered

unto us by the said Sir William Johnson," the grantees also "yielding and paying two beaver skins to be delivered at our castle of Windsor, on the first day of January in every year, and also the fifth part of the gold and silver ore which from time to time shall be found upon the said tract.

The grant was divided into four allotments. The Vrooman map of 1797 found in our county histories shows the location of the tracts laid off to Margaret, George, Mary, Susanna, Anne, Brant and William, comprising 15,000 acres, said on the map to be devised "to a part of the baronet's Indian children." He is not supposed to have remembered them all. The towns of Salisbury and Manheim, in which those tracts mainly lie, were formed from the town of Palatine in Montgomery county in 1797, and both towns were annexed to Herkimer county in 1817. All of our state constitutions have confirmed the grants made by the British government prior to October 14, 1775, and the title of the heirs of such grantees was unquestionable except for forfeiture by acts of attainder. By the act of October 22, 1779, Sir John, son, and Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus, son-in-laws, of Sir William, were among others attainted as public enemies of the State and adherents to Great Britain in the war then being waged, and their estates were declared forfeited and vested in the people of this State. This forfeiture of course annulled the title of Sir John Johnson, Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus under the devises to them.

It was long supposed that all the Indian children were attainted and conveyances were made accordingly by the commissioner of forfeitures, but no record of convictions could be found against George, Mary, Susanna and Ann. By mesne conveyances Porteous and Ellice purchased and came into possession of seven hundred acres, all of which were founded on the assumed attainder of the last four named children, and those purchasers having in order to secure and quiet their title, paid those children for their share of four-sevenths, the legisla-

ture in 1798 passed an act to refund Porteous and Ellice the amount paid for those shares. Elizabeth, Margaret and Magdalene were convicted of adhering to the enemies of the state, and upon that attainder their estates were forfeited and sold. This act recites that certain lands were sold by the commissioners as lands of Peter Johnson, natural son of Sir William, "as part of the forfeited estate of Sir John Johnson, and that the said lands did of right belong to" the seven children named surviving Peter Johnson. For this reason the lands of the first four named were not affected by the attainder of Sir John, and the State abandoned the forfeiture against them. A similar act was passed in 1797, and on the same grounds, for the relief of Jacob Markle and others.

In the year 1854, one McKinnon, who claimed by a chain of conveyances from Susanna, devisee of 3,000 acres, brought an action of ejectment against Justus Bliss, Billious Avery, William F. Burrell, William Maynard Smith and others, occupants of Susanna's tract in Salisbury. Of the plaintiff's counsel was the distinguished David Dudley Field, and Bliss, in the action tried, was defended by Arphaxed Loomis, attorney of record, and associated with him were Samuel Earl and Robert Earl. On the trial the plaintiff introduced the will and conveyances and proved a fruitless search for the patent to Sir William, and proposed to prove by Lauren Ford what was reported among the settlers on the Royal Grant as to the disposition made of the letters patent, the purpose of the proof being to show that the patent was buried in the earth at the time of Sir John Johnson's flight to Canada, and that it had decayed into illegible fragments. This evidence was excluded. The acts before referred to were then read to show a legislative recognition of the ownership of Sir William and of his devises to his children, and those devises were claimed to be good, except so far as annulled by the attainder. The plaintiff was non-suited, and the case went to the Court of Appeals. In that court the same grounds of title were urged in behalf of

the plaintiff, and his counsel read from Benton's History the prevailing tradition among the occupants of the grant as to the manner in which the title to the Royal Grant had been acquired. This history was held to be inadmissible for the reason that it treated, in this respect, of only local matters, and not of such as related to public and general matters affecting the whole state. The plaintiff's counsel was able on this appeal to produce a duly authenticated copy of the letters patent to Sir William, recorded in the public records' office in London, but upon the decisions rendered by the court they were unavailable. No attempt was afterwards made to assert any title derived from these four children. All the other lands passed to grantees under the attainer of Sir John Johnson, Guy Johnson, and Daniel Claus, and the three Indian children. The whole number of lots sold in the Royal Grant by the Commissioners of Forfeitures was 451.

The ownership of the Royal Grant by Sir William makes his remarkable career and eminent services pertinent to our subject. He came when twenty-three years of age to assume the agency of lands in what is now Florida, Montgomery county. He engaged in the fur trade and in selling Indian supplies, and by his just and considerate dealing won the entire confidence of the surrounding tribes. On special occasions he assumed the Indian costume and was adopted into the Mohawk Canton or tribe.

The fear of invasion from Canada felt in 1746, and the discontent of the Indians toward the colonial authority induced Governor Clinton to invoke the well known potent influence of Johnson with the Indians and he was appointed to the Indian agency, and in 1748 colonel of the militia forces. Intrigues against him at Albany constrained him to resign in 1750. This caused great dissatisfaction among the Indians and they laid various complaints before the governor in 1753, and King Hendrick's ominous words declaring that "the old covenant chain between them and the English was broken," excited general alarm.

All the branches of the government and all the factions at Albany then united in naming Johnson as the one man who could win back the alliance of the Mohawks. At Johnson's summons they met him at what is now Akin, then Mount Johnson, near Amsterdam. Hendrick then declared that "for any other man he would not have moved a foot." Difficulties were adjusted and in the following month at a general meeting of the Six Nations at Onondaga friendly relations between them and the colony were restored. From that time Johnson's influence over the Indians continued to increase, and in 1755 he was appointed major-general of the New England and New York troops. In September he defeated the French under Dieskau at the battle of Lake George for which signal success parliament voted him £5,000 and the King created him a baronet. The Lords of Trade in 1756 made him colonel and sole superintendent of the northern Indians with an ample salary. In 1759 at the siege of Fort Niagara by the English under General Prideaux he succeeded to the command on the death of that general, defeated D'Aubry, who had marched to the relief of that post, and compelled its surrender. It is worthy of note that Sir William captured both of the French commanders in these decisive battles. Upon the surrender of Fort Niagara he advised an immediate advance on Montreal, but the more cautious policy of General Amherst delayed that movement. In 1758 his efforts had prevented fifteen tribes from allying themselves with the French. How much of death, suffering and desolation was stayed by his intervention can never be known. In 1760, at the head of regulars, provincials and Indians, he took part in the capture of Montreal and the final expulsion of the French.

Nor did his services end with that event. In 1764 he marched with a large force to Oswego, Niagara, Pittsburg and Detroit to overawe the Shawnees and the Senecas who were still hostile, and compelled them to keep the peace. In June 1774, we find Governor John Penn

of Pennsylvania, calling for the potent help of Sir William to protect the western settlers against the Shawnees, an appeal that reached Johnstown just after Sir William's death, July 11, 1774. Such is a brief account of the greatest of the colonial servants of the British crown, and who next to Wolfe was the most potent personality in the work of expelling the French from North America. William Pitt in his sublime egotism said, "I can save England, and no other man can," and Johnson and Wolfe were his ablest subordinates in the work he had to accomplish on this continent.

The mother of Sir John Johnson and of the wives of Guy Johnson and Claus was a German girl named Catherine Weisenfelt, who was sold into service to pay her passage money over sea, a custom as prevailing in that day as was the servitude of the blacks. The story current at that time was that one Phillips, who had become her master, stated that "Johnson, that d—d Irishman, came and offered him £5 for the girl and threatened to horsewhip him and steal the girl if I would not sell her," and thinking, it seems, that £5 was better than a thrashing, he accepted Johnson's terms.

This rough and ready courtship is supposed by Simms to have occurred in 1739. In 1862, on the exhuming and reburial of Sir William's remains at Johnstown, a gold ring was found among them marked "June, 1739—16," and Simms conjectures that the ring may have been given to the girl at that date, and that the figures 16 denoted her age. Long after the birth of her white children, and to legitimate them, Sir William, shortly before the death of their mother, had a marriage ceremony performed between them, and still later, and not long before his death, a like ceremony was performed between him and his Indian wife, Molly Brant. This Indian wife is said to have been a woman of mind and of elevated character, exemplary in life at Johnson Hall, and a communicant of the Episcopal church. This superior Indian woman acquired a veneering of civilized manners in the mansion of Sir William, but the

aboriginal traits asserted themselves when after his death she went back to her people. Brooding hatred incited her to give warning of the advance from Fort Dayton and caused the ambuscade and slaughter at Oriskany. Indian fashion, she "dreamed" for the head of Lieutenant-Colonel Stacie, a prisoner taken at Cherry Valley, saying she had twice dreamed that she and the Indians had kicked it about the fort for a football. But even Butler disobeyed the supposed command of the Great Spirit, and Molly was pacified with kegs of rum. She was cruel towards prisoners and lacked the magnanimity that sometimes relieved the record of the cruel atrocities of her brother, Joseph Brant. The names of Thayendanegea and Molly Brant were both of ill omen to the Palatines of the Mohawk Valley.

The early settlers of the Royal Grant came soon after the Revolution, and were mostly from New England. They made signal efforts for the promotion of learning. In this respect they gave distinction to the county. It is said of the Englishman that in a new settlement his first business is to build a dock and a warehouse, the Spaniard at once builds a church and a Frenchman a theatre. These New Englanders very early founded a school and a college—Fairfield Academy, in 1803—to which was added a medical department in 1809, and this was raised to the rank of a college in 1812. Both institutions were among the earliest of their kind in the State, and the college held a leading position until 1838. Among its professors are the names of Willoughby, Hadley, McNaughton, White, Hamilton and Beck. The lectures of T. Romeyn Beck, begun in 1816, were the foundation of Beck's Medical Jurisprudence, known to all physicians and lawyers. Henry Hamilton Hadley and George Hadley, sons of the elder Hadley, became the first Hebrew professor of Columbia College; the second, professor in the Buffalo Medical College.

Among the students of the Academy were Albert Barnes, the distinguished biblical scholar; the second, James Hadley, who became Greek professor in Yale

College, one of the most eminent, if not first in rank, of the Greek scholars of this country, and author of a work on the Roman Law; Asa Gray, the foremost of our botanists; Henry Wager Halleck, a writer on military science and international law and general of the Union armies; Hiram Denio, Addison Gardner, Elisha P. Hurlbut, Celora E. Martin, Judges of the Court of Appeals; Orrin Faville, Lieutenant Governor of Wisconsin; Luther Bradish, Lieutenant Governor of New York; John Swinburne, famous in America and Europe for his improvements in reparative surgery; Xerxes A. Willard, a writer on agriculture and dairying, whose text books are authority in America and Europe.

Charles A. Mann, a native of Fairfield, was a fellow-student with Barnes and Denio. He was introduced by his elder brother, Abijah, to a law office in Utica, with the remark that he "knew nothing but Latin and Greek," which the elder brother did not highly esteem, but he added that he "was willing to work," which Abijah evidently thought more to the purpose. He steadily rose in his profession, and acquired the reputation of being the best real estate lawyer in Oneida county. In 1846 he was nominated for the constitutional convention, but was defeated by reason of the existing split in the Democratic party, and the same cause defeated his nomination for Congress in 1848. He was elected to the Assembly, and afterward to the Senate in 1850. He was an ardent and firm supporter of the financial school of Hoffman, Loomis, Abijah Mann, Crain, and was the leading adviser of the resignation of the twelve senators in order to defeat the \$9,000,000 canal bill of 1851. This expedient had the sanction of leaders such as Horatio Seymour, but Mr. Mann was not sustained by the popular vote, but he was vindicated by the Court of Appeals, which declared the act, after it was enacted, to be unconstitutional. After 1851 Mr. Mann avoided public life, though named for comptroller and justice of the Supreme Court. His long connection with railroads and banks, the lunatic asylum board, orphan asylum, the academies of

Utica and with its manufacturing enterprises, as promoter, director and president and chairman of most of them attests the universal reliance placed on his financial skill, executive ability and integrity. Mr. Mann's eminently useful career was closed by impaired health a few years before his death, in 1860, at the age of fifty-seven.

The observation has been made that the Palatines from their settlement in 1725 to the founding of the institutions at Fairfield had done nothing for the special promotion of learning. But it must be said that the scathing devastation that wasted the Palatinate by the ruthless scourging of Louis XIV. and his still more brutal minister Louvois, and which swept away village, hamlet and cottage, were revisited upon its people in the new world. They were pursued by ill fortune in their wanderings on the Hudson, the Schoharie, and the Mohawk. They bore the fierce brunt of French and British invasions. Indian ambush and the tomahawk hovered around and over them, and there was the more direful hate of brother warring upon brother.

The story of this much enduring people reads like the roll of the prophet, filled within and without with lamentations and woe. In a constant struggle for life, they had time only to learn how to live, could study only arts to ward off impending death. Their fields were tilled in the brief intervals when peace for a time "dropped like a curtain" upon the troubled stage between the recurring scenes of blood and fire. When we consider the multiplied calamities that beset them, it is the marvel of history that they finally held their ground:

"Tantae molis erat Romanum condere gentem."

—such and so arduous was the task of preparing the homes in which we abide.

The settlers of the Royal Grant came under the auspices of newly awakened enterprises which they could pursue in peace and security. They came from a part of the land where the aspect of war had been less terrible, and where the culture of letters was less disturbed.

They founded seats of learning to which the descendants of the Palatines resorted, which in happier times they largely supported, and they gathered from these fountains the same benefits that have been largely felt in this and in surrounding communities, down to our own times. The academy at Fairfield is now under the vigorous and enlightened administration of the Messrs. Warnes, who have restored it to its old time prosperity and usefulness.

Most of the first settlers upon the Royal Grant came after 1784, and largely to Norway. There were only a few settlers in Manheim and Salisbury before the revolution. These later settlers were attracted by the fame of cheap and fertile lands, the confiscated estates of the Johnson family which were offered for sale in 1784 by the Commissioners of Forfeitures. The immigration to Norway was somewhat earlier than that to any of the others on the Grant. Norway has been the prolific mother of towns, thirty-five having been carved from her ancient territory, and much of this immigration to the Grant was to towns not within the present limits of that town. The pioneer in what is now Norway was Christopher Hawkins, who came in 1786. In 1787 the Potters settled on No. 4 of the third allotment, about half a mile north of Norway village. Five younger members of the family made a home there in the winter of that year. The winter snow still lying four feet deep in April, frozen potatoes and an occasional rabbit for food, no neighbors short of seven miles, and a succeeding frosty summer, tried the souls of these young pioneers. Some years before 1786 a tempest cut a wide swath through the forest for several miles in the north part of the town, and it was afterward known as "The Hurricane." The same tempest, it is supposed prostrated the forest at what is called "The Windfall" in Schuyler. Many went to the Hurricane, thinking perhaps that a hard life could be had on somewhat easier terms on lands thus providentially cleared. Among them was Noah Smith, the writer's great-grand-

father, who had settled just below Fairfield village, but lost his "betterments" there. The first marriage in the town of Russia, then part of Norway, was that of Farley Fuller to Minerva, daughter of Noah Smith. It was not always easy to keep the wolf from the door on the Hurricane. There Philo Smith, Noah's son, and his wife, grandparents of the writer, were awakened at night to find a wolf on the door step of their log house and they killed him there. The honors were about equal; Philo held the wolf by the tail and his wife split the animal's head with an axe. She was Rachel Hopson Smith, one of the eleven children of Alvarius Hopson, who settled in Salisbury in 1793. Another of his daughters was Clotilda, wife of Linus Yale, of Newport.

Among the prominent men of Norway was Ira Coe, a legal oracle in the north part of the county, largely employed in trying causes in justices' courts, and for a time one of the associate county judges. He was candidate in 1846 of the Whig party for member of assembly. Thomas Manly was member in 1800, 1810, 1820, and Daniel C. Henderson, Henry Tillinghast and Jefferson Tillinghast in 1827, 1835 and 1846 respectively. Some time before 1808 John Nicholson left Norway, and he was elected to Congress in that year from Herkimer. The research of the late Samuel Earl could find no further trace of his career, and the writer knows of none except a shinplaster for fifty cents, which he issued at Herkimer in 1817. Dudley Burwell, born in Norway, was one of the strong men of the county, a distinguished lawyer of literary tastes who was engaged, after his retirement from practice, upon a biography of Charles James Fox, the English statesman, which he did not live to complete.

Benton's History assumes, and the later history of Judge Hardin and Willard repeats, that the territory now Ohio was a part of Kingsland during the revolution. If the Royal Grant, or Kingsland, was granted in 1765, it is not perceived how it could have been embraced in the Jersey-field Patent granted in 1770, Kingsland

then remaining intact. The map published by the Forest Commission runs the north line of the Royal Grant, from Devereaux directly to near Hinckley, leaving, of course, Ohio, wholly to the north. Why Ohio is supposed to have been a part of the Royal Grant is not apparent. Its territory, taken from Norway in 1823, was first named New Brunswick. It was settled before the revolution, it is believed, by several white families, among them by one Mount. The murder of his sons by Indians, in 1782, is a tragedy that has often been rehearsed, and no further settlement was made until 1790. Since 1832 this remote town has sent to the Assembly David Thorp, Asa Vickery and William Coppernoll.

The part of the county comprised in the Royal Grant had greater comparative political weight in early years. Newport sent Willoughby to Congress; Norway, Nicholson; Fairfield, Mann and Buell; Booth, of Russia, closely contested the nomination with Spinner, Schuyler turning the scale. Wooster from Newport was in the constitutional convention of 1821, and in the senate in 1823. Varney was Senator from Russia in 1842. In early years Nathan Smith, of Fairfield, was a first judge of the county, succeeded by Hiram Nolton in 1825 and Arunah C. H. Smith in 1840, all from the same town. The Grant has been numerous represented in the Assembly, but all of whom have held the position only S. R. Millington and Solomon Graves are now living.

Nathan Smith before holding the position of first judge of the county, had been a member of the assembly from this county in the years 1798, 1801 and 1802. He was elected senator in 1805 and held that position for two terms. In 1808 he was chosen a member of the council of appointment and was in all those years a prominent figure in the politics and legislation of the state. He died at Fairfield in 1836 at the age of sixty-seven.

In the early years of the century the gates of the Northern Wilderness were on the borders of the Royal Grant. There were many hardy occupants largely engaged in hunting, fishing and trapping,

about the Fulton Chain, Jerseyfield, Piseco and Long Lake and other waters in that region. Seventy years ago the beaver had not disappeared from the numerous dams they had built. The meadows which their dams of immemorial date, had cleared of timber, are found scattered throughout the forest. Within the memory of the writer, moose were there so abundant that deer were deemed game of minor account. Hunting expeditions brought in every season large quantities of this royal game and their hides were tanned in the small tanneries and made into the moccasins, "mokisins," in the Indian language, which were always worn by the hunters. In these days meetings of these sportsmen were frequent at Wyllys Avery's gun shop where Wyllys Avery, George Avery, Erwin Byington, the Dunnings, the Bleekmans, Wyllys Bennett, Nathaniel Foster, and others, tried their skill with the rifle, using Avery's newly invented rifle locks fitted to rifles of his manufacture. He bought his barrels of Eliphalet Remington up to 1834.

In these assemblies Foster was a marked figure, "straight as an Indian," alert and prompt in manner, with a wary and piercing glance characteristic of the hunter's eye and with a face browned by exposure, he might, but for his long yellow locks, well pass for a genuine son of the forest. Much has been said of his skill with the rifle but his associates did not concede to him special rank in these encounters, but his aim at live game was said to be more unerring. The story that his carrying rifle balls between his fingers had so indented them that he habitually carried them that way for convenience in loading, had no foundation. His trial at Herkimer in 1833, for killing Waters, one of the St. Regis tribe, an offshoot of the Mohawks, was watched with more attention than any capital trial in this part of the state. The idea of hanging a white man for shooting an Indian, aroused men who had heard so much, of some of whom had witnessed, the unsparing raids of Sir John Johnson, Greens, the Butlers, Brant and Claus, in the Mohawk Valley and on the Royal

Grant. Elisha P. Hurlbut was one of Foster's counsel. His plea for his client which was published in *Park Benjamin's "World"* over fifty years ago, was largely based on the fact that Foster's quarrel with Waters occurred in the wilderness far beyond any possible protection of law, that in this state of nature the combatants were remitted to the rights of private warfare and to the unqualified use of all means of self-preservation. Anticipating that it would be urged that Foster followed up the Indian after the first struggle, he might well argue that following an Indian with a good rifle, was much safer than to have him on one's own trail in the depths of the forest. A weaker argument than this would be likely to obtain the assent of the jury that was addressed on that occasion. On his acquittal Foster finally retired from the woods in which Indians were likely to be prowling and he died at Ava, and was buried at Boonville in a grave near that of Herrishoff, the John Brown's tract suicide.

Wylls Avery, before mentioned, was a man of remarkable native genius. His active mind led to a self-education of no mean order. He was an expert mechanic and brought out several valuable inventions. He taught himself surveying and as a surveyor acquired a wide reputation. He made the compasses he used and supplied other surveyors. His knowledge of chemistry was extensive and Dr. Hadley, of Fairfield, took an interest in discussing with him topics on that science. He was well versed in geology, and Lardner Vanuxem, when making his state geological survey, sought the aid of his local knowledge and suggestions. He was for many years an able justice of the peace and his acquaintance with the statutory and common law was unusual outside of the legal profession, and he was largely consulted upon legal questions. When Dolphus Skinner edited the "*Universalist Magazine*" at Utica, that celebrated divine did not disdain to entertain a controversy with Mr. Avery in the columns of the magazine, upon topics in the field of theology.

This back woods philosopher, like Franklin, whom he resembled in countenance and mental traits, had a vein of quaint and shrewd humor. When he advertised compasses he gave notice that he made all kinds of compasses, "except poor ones." When he had fits of mental depression, "the blues," he always spoke of them as "lucid intervals." When consulted on legal questions and his client cited the opinion of some lawyer, he would reply that he would much rather know what he told the lawyer than what the lawyer told him. Mr. Avery had none of the ambition that spurs mental ability to its highest exertion. With legal knowledge superior to many who practice law as a profession, he avoided the advocacy of suits, public speaking being wholly unsuited to his taste and temperament. Content with his quiet pursuits and the reflections of a contemplative mind, and such excursions to the outer world as his reading afforded, he kept the "even tenor of his sequestered way." On a broader theatre of action with the stimulating contact of intellects equal to his own and if he had not deemed contentment sufficient riches, he might have been famous as a mechanic and inventor, or trained to the law, equal to high judicial labors, or if devoted to science he would have stood conspicuous in the light of new and important discoveries.

Another and more famous inventor, Linus Yale, was a native of Salisbury. The Yale lock of his invention is known the world over wherever there are bank vaults or treasures to be protected by inventive mechanical genius. Hamilton Ward, formerly attorney general, and now justice of the appellate court in the 4th department was born near Devereaux near the northeast corner of the Grant. Near the southern boundary of Salisbury was born John Krum, mayor of Alton when Owen Lovejoy was killed and who became afterwards a distinguished lawyer of St. Louis and circuit judge in Missouri.

George Griswold was a son of Colonel Amos Griswold, of Salisbury, and one of the anti-slavery leaders in the storm and

stress period of the anti-slavery contest. He had a keen and comprehensive intellect, and stored his mind with literary models and a wide knowledge of public affairs. His eyesight was injured by an accident in early life which arrested his progress at a time when study was unfolding his fine natural powers. This misfortune interrupted the legal career on which he entered and in which he was fitted to excel. A natural orator, his diction was expressive and vigorous and his argument powerful. In the early forties he was often heard on the slavery question and he and John C. Underwood were in those years the ablest exponents of anti-slavery sentiment in this county. Mr. Griswold went to Wisconsin about the year 1850, and died at Columbus, in that state, in 1891, at the age of seventy-four. His younger brother, William M. Griswold, also studied law in the office of Arphaxed Loomis and when admitted to the bar he became a partner with Mr. Loomis. He removed to Wisconsin in 1853 and there became distinguished and influential. For three years, 1858-60, he was a Member of the Assembly of Wisconsin, and a member of the Senate during 1868-1872. Possessed of highly cultivated minds and extensive literary acquirements, the Griswolds held leading positions both in their native county and in the state of their adoption. Both were graduates of Fairfield Academy and of Union College. William M. died at Columbus, Wisconsin in the year 1889.

Among the capable and forceful men of the eastern part of the Royal Grant was Col. Jeremiah Drake, of Salisbury, one of the robust minds and strong characters who sixty and seventy years ago kept up in our country towns intelligent thought and reflection upon public affairs. In the years from 1834 to 1844 the writer often heard his discussions of the issues in state and national politics. Familiar with our national and with general history, he was able to enforce his views with great mental acuteness and by remarkable facility in speech. As illustrative of the features

of those times the fact is recalled, occurring in the canvass of 1840, when the election continued through three days, that in the night following the poll at Devereaux, Col. Drake on the Whig side, and Atwater Cook on the side of the Democrats, the leaders of their respective parties, discussed at the Centre the issues of that campaign. Both these men were fully competent to expound and defend the creed of their respective parties. At that time the country towns had many men equal to such debates. When intelligent opinions and not money ruled, these public discussions enlarged the views of the electors, and such men were heard with attention. It is safe to say of that town that no one of its voters, then more numerous than now, voted for a bribe, and the same is believed to be true of all the country towns of the county.

Col. Drake's energetic and enterprising spirit was displayed in the project for securing a railroad and water navigation from Finks's Basin to the St. Lawrence. The first charter was obtained in 1834. His principal associates were Andrew A. Fink and Daniel B. Winton. Under this charter, which was for a line from Fink's Basin to Nicholsville (now Devereaux) by way of Manheim and Salisbury Centre. In 1836 the scheme was extended to the Sacandaga river and up the East Canada creek to Morehouse lake, and by water through and along Lake Piseco and Lake Pleasant and in 1837 through and along Long lake, down the Racket river, including Tupper Lake, to the High Falls on the Racket river, and thence by railroad, canal or slackwater navigation to the St. Lawrence. By these acts Jeremiah Drake, Daniel B. Winton, Andrew A. Fink, Elisha P. Hurlbnt, John Fine, Gouverneur Ogden, Andrew K. Morehouse, Henry Devereaux and some others were named as stock commissioners. The name of the corporation was changed in 1837 to "The Mobawk and St. Lawrence Railroad and Transportation Company." A considerable part of the line was surveyed under the supervision of Col.

Drake, in 1837, but the financial depression of 1837-8 proved fatal to any prospects this extensive project may have had, and it was abandoned with considerable loss on the part of its promoters.

About 1830 Col. Drake was the candidate of his party for State Senator. He moved to Wisconsin about 1843, and in 1846 was a member of the convention chosen to form a constitution for the new state and was prominent in that body. His son Jeremiah Clinton Drake, was born in Salisbury in 1824; graduated from Rochester University and entered the ministry in 1852. In 1861 he recruited a company in Chautauqua county for the war, was made captain, and served during the entire campaign on the peninsula. In the fall of 1862 the 112th regiment was organized at Jamestown, and he was commissioned as colonel. He served nearly two years and was distinguished for efficiency, courage and bravery. He had, during a large part of that time, the command of a brigade known as Drake's Independent Brigade. While leading this brigade on the first charge at Cold Harbor, June 1, 1864, he fell, mortally wounded, and died the next day.

Among the men bearing the same stamp of native worth and highly useful in his day, was Atwater Cook, before mentioned. He was a man strong in saving common sense. Besides filling the important town offices, he was twice at different periods, elected to the Assembly, in which he served with credit. He was the trusted confidant of Arphaxed Loomis and of the other men of his political school. A reflex of his traits of character may be seen in some incidents which the writer gives from personal statements and the voice of contemporaries. An oppressive bill of legal costs rendered by one of his neighbors having come to his notice, he brought the case to the attention of Mr. Loomis, and this is believed to have been one of the causes that turned actively the attention of that eminent jurist to the legal reforms with which his name is identified. In another case, a prominent man in his dealings with Mr. Cook, had rendered himself

amenable to criminal proceedings, but Mr. Cook, being unwilling to resort to extremities, gave notice in the proper quarter to have his name left off the grand jury list, so that he should not be placed where his official duty would compel him to present the case to the grand jury. These examples were characteristic of the cherished integrity and humane public spirit of the man.

Elisha P. Hurlbut was the most versatile, and, in some respects, the strongest of the intellects this county has produced. He was a powerful and impressive orator; he rose to eminence as a lawyer and jurist, and but for the distaste for public life that succeeded his early triumphs, his genius and mental power might have secured still higher honors in the State and Nation. I heard him speak, with boyish admiration in 1834, and in 1856 he delivered a speech at Boonville on the public topics of that day, which, for massive strength and for stirring and sublime appeal, I never heard excelled. He affected none of the small arts of oratory, but full of his subject he spoke "right on," and filled the minds and the hearts of his hearers. His argument was indeed, logic set on fire.

He was born in Salisbury in 1807. He was at first attracted to medical study, which, for a time, he pursued under his uncle, Dr. Westel Willoughby; he then studied law and became a partner of Arphaxed Loomis. He went to New York in 1835, at the age of twenty-seven, and formed a co-partnership with Alexander S. Johnson, who was afterwards a Judge of the Court of Appeals, and after a practice of twelve years, he was elected Judge of the Supreme Court, the youngest of the elected incumbents of that office, and he passed from that court to the Court of Appeals. His opinions written during the brief time he was a member of that court, before his resignation on account of ill health, showed ample learning and a characteristic vigor and clearness of mind.

Judge Hurlbut's writings in various fields were striking and valuable. In 1836 he delivered a course of lectures on the basic principles of government,

which he afterwards published in a volume entitled "Human Rights and Their Political Guarantees," which was reprinted in London and Edinburgh. In 1843-4 his pregnant essays on constitutional and legal reform appeared in the public prints and exerted a wide influence. In these he urged most, if not all, the reforms secured by the new constitution and the new legal system, the limitation of executive power by decentralizing executive patronage, as well as restraints on legislative power; the curbing of corporate trusts and the abolishing of special legislation. The only limit he would place on the voting franchise was the ability to read the English language. He was one of the earliest advocates for the extension of complete legal and political rights to women. His efforts were influential in removing the political disabilities of the clergy, and the test of religious belief in the cases of witnesses. In short Judge Hurlbut was the constant and consistent foe of every denial and abridgement of human rights. The issues that arose in 1856, soon after his retirement, enlisted his most profound moral and political convictions, and he gave an earnest and zealous advocacy to the Union cause. He was offered the nomination for Governor, and would probably have received it but for his determination not to accept public office.

Abijah Mann, Jr., was born in Fairfield in 1793, was Member of the Assembly in 1828-29 and was in Congress from 1832 to 1836. The training of a capable mother and his own efforts supplied the lack of academical instruction. He early became a power in the state and a political associate of VanBuren, Marcy, Wright, Flagg, Hoffman, Loomis, Crain, Barry, Beckwith, Burwell; and one of the men who gave tone to the Herkimer school of politics and aided in securing for it a marked ascendancy in the party and in the state. After leaving Congress he again entered the Assembly in 1838. While in Congress he was appointed one of the committee to examine the condition of the United States Bank. On arriving at Philadelphia he was re-

fused admittance to the bank. Having a good deal of Jackson in him, and Jackson behind him, he at once procured laborers and began to dig his way under the building. The doors were then opened. His account of the report he made to Gen. Jackson is given in his own words: "I had been desired by Gen. Jackson to come immediately to the President's house at any hour on my return to Washington. I arrived late at night and was denied admittance. 'My name is Mann,' said I, 'and the President wants to see me.' I was admitted. Gen. Jackson had just risen from the bed and walked up and down the room in an old woollen night gown that made him look like a ghost. 'Tell me,' he demanded, 'how stands the case.' I told him the names of the members of both houses of Congress who had received money from the bank, and he made comments as I told. Naming one, a most distinguished senator, I added \$70,000. 'That money is well spent,' cried Gen. Jackson, 'he is an able man.' I named a southern senator, adding \$6,000. 'Too much, too much,' cried the old man, 'he is only a country village lawyer.' So I went on through the whole catalogue detailing one of the most extraordinary cases of official corruption then on record."

In the Assembly in 1838, Mr. Mann and Preston King, the two Democratic leaders, were in the minority and they indulged in a good deal of filibustering. Luther Bradish, the polished Whig leader, was speaker. In one turbulent scene the speaker declared "the gentleman from Herkimer" out of order without stopping Mr. Mann. The speaker then ordered "the gentleman from Herkimer" to take his seat, still without effect. The speaker then shouted, "Abijah Mann, Jr., take your seat,"—the "calling members by their names" being the last resort of parliamentary law short of sending the Sergeant at Arms. Mr. Mann respected it and sat down. From these details it is quite clear that the veteran Herkimer leader had no lack of self assertion.

In 1855, Mr. Mann was nominated by the Republican party for Attorney General, but the American party carried the state. In 1857 he was the Republican candidate for Senator, but defeated. After this he was not active in politics and occupied an independent attitude toward parties.

As illustrating the modest frugality of the times and to show the small beginnings of men afterwards eminent, the writer recalls the fact that he heard it said after Mr. Mann became distinguished, that he often tried causes in the eastern part of Grant for two and three dollars, and this millionaire of a later day set up housekeeping having a looking glass twelve inches by ten, as a type of his furniture. No rising attorney of our day would dare to show his face in such a glass as that.

In 1803 the State Road was authorized to be run from "Preston's Tavern" in Steuben to within three miles of the High Falls of the Black River and thence to Brownville and eastward from the same starting point to Johnstown. It entered the Royal Grant at Brockett's Bridge, crossing Manheim, Salisbury, Norway and Russia and its location in 1804-5 fixed the location of Salisbury Corners, Norway village, Cold Brook and Russia Corners. This road came to be the "grand crossing" over the Grant, and between the Black River country and Albany by the way of Johnstown. Prior to 1817, Manheim and Salisbury had Johnstown for their county seat and it, next to Albany, was the objective point for business from the north and from the Grant. Seventy years ago besides the State Road, a road was in use leading from the southeastern part of Salisbury to Johnstown through the "Nine Mile Woods." Before the construction of the Schenectady and Utica railroad, the state road was a thoroughfare thronged with teams from the Black River country and the Grant. Large numbers of cattle, sheep and hogs, the former in droves of many hundreds, passed over the road. Norman Butler, before and after that time, collected large droves at Fairfield and sent them

over this route. The carriage of grain, pork, potash, flax, wool, fish from Lake Ontario, venison, furs and other products of the field, forest and waters made an animated scene along the whole road. Taverns stood at intervals of one to two miles. At these hostelrys the men of the northern farms and hamlets found good cheer. They often brought their own provisions, paying moderate sums for lodging and the stabling of their teams. Large open fire-places piled high with cord-wood, warmed and lighted up the spacious bar rooms with a ruddy glow, a heated iron pendant from an iron rod converted their strong ale into "flip" and no exciseman hindered the homely festivity. In the war of 1812, cannon and munitions of war were transported and soldiers marched over this road to Sacketts Harbor. The soldiers claimed large freedom on the whole route and sometimes took forcible possession of the taverns. They had, too, a festive way of fishing out bottles with nooses on the end of their ramrods, over the palings that the tavern keeper found needful to protect his liquors.

The general wayfarers, the forefathers of those old hamlets, who, in those times traversed this road, were a genial and social people. They had no reason to envy, if they could have foreseen, the lives of their successors. They enjoyed all that field or forest or waters could afford, all the fruits of their brave and patient labor, all that rural life so blended with forest sports, and all that the broad and social concourse of those early days could confer. These men no longer meet, nor do their children; the old tales and traditions are no longer told around the hospitable fires of those frequent taverns. They have mostly faded away, the old ties are broken, and with them have perished the charm of that older day and the more kindly light that once brightened the smiling fields and the more enlivened and more cheerful hamlets of the Royal Grant.

The northern part of the Grant is at the limit of successful agriculture and grass is about the only reliable product. The underlying limestone and the Utica

slate found in some parts of the Grant have given to it a marked adaptation to the production of cheese and butter. The red-top, timothy, June grass, white and red clover afford in this soil superior pasturage. The geology and the topographical formation and the generally abundant supply of pure water maintain fresh pasturage during a longer season than continues elsewhere. These favoring conditions prevail throughout Manheim, a part of Salisbury, in Fairfield, Norway, Herkimer and parts of Newport and Russia. As early as 1842 Fairfield produced more cheese than any town in the United States and in proportion to its acreage has, probably no equal today. The foreign export, on which paying prices continue to depend, was begun by Harry Burrell of Salisbury, who successfully prosecuted that trade for half a century. His sons, Seymour Burrell and Isaac Burrell, engaged efficiently in extending this foreign trade, and his son, David H. Burrell, has largely promoted the domestic development of the business by improved appliances for cheese manufacture. Natural conditions and the skill of the dairymen of the Royal Grant have given to this region and its chief product, a reputation that rivals the most famous seats of this industry. The sales of cheese at Little Falls for the season of 1894 were 12,121,680 pounds, being 202,028 boxes; value \$1,088,474. The sales of 1895 were 9,012,420 pounds, being 150,207 boxes; value \$714,684. The sales of 1896 were 7,245,240 pounds, being 120,754 boxes; value \$564,259. The causes of this great decrease are familiar and they have been general, the falling off at Little Falls last season being only 846 boxes more than that of the Utica market.

The extent of this industry has made its methods subjects of careful study. The writings of Professor Xerxes A. Willard, rank high and probably stand first. His publications began in 1859 and for many years he edited the dairy departments of various publications like "The Rural New Yorker." His "Practical Dairy Husbandry" of nearly 600

pages was said by the "London Milk Journal" to be "the most complete published." Dr. Edward Smith, F. R. S., said in the "London Standard" that his "Condensed Milk Manufacture" was incomparable for "clearness, detail, and correctness." In 1866 Professor Willard traveled through the dairy districts of Europe and his reports upon the methods in use there were published by the United States Department of Agriculture. In 1869 he was employed by the Royal Agricultural Society of England to write on dairying and furnished an essay on "American Butter Factories" and another on "Condensed Milk Manufacture." In 1875 he published the "Practical Butter Book," a standard work. Besides these labors Professor Willard addressed County Agricultural Fairs in almost all our counties and often in other states. He gave lecture courses at Cornell University and before the Agricultural College of Maine. He took a leading part in organizing the American Dairymen's Association, organized the New York State Dairymen's Association, and instituted the system of Dairy Boards of Trade.

Among Professor Willard's contributions to his chosen work from 1859, besides those mentioned were "Essays on Agriculture" "Cheese Dairying in Herkimer County" and "Associated Dairies of New York." The night before his death he was engaged upon an article on dairying for the Encyclopedia Britannica. Most of his works were original explorations in a new field and they constitute a distinct literature on dairy farming. His whole career was one of great practical utility and exemplifies the service that large capacity and devoted application to an important practical subject may confer on mankind. Lauron B. Arnold of Fairfield, also contributed many valuable papers and discussions for the improvement of this industry at about the same period.

Xerxes A. Willard was one of the most amiable and noble of men. His unselfish and useful life, his genial manner and charming personality invite the kindly pen of contempo-

rary biography. Had it been his ambition to distinguish himself in other fields rather than to be useful to the generation in which he lived, and to succeeding generations of farmers, his fine endowments of mind and his well trained intellect would have made him eminent in any profession he might have chosen. He was one of those rare characters from whose graves grateful memories rise and maintain a lasting regard in the hearts of all their surviving associates.

It will be noticed that this paper does not undertake any appropriate account of the career and public services of Arphaxed Loomis, whose early life was spent on the Royal Grant. A proper presentation of his labors as a jurist, as reformer of our judicial system, as well as leader in the remodeling of our state constitution could not be attempted within my present limits but may be made the subject of a subsequent paper.

AN OUTLINE SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TRYON COUNTY.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. J. D. HENDERSON, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, February 9, 1897.

The history of Tryon County has never been written. "The Annals of Tryon County" by Judge Campbell, Stone's "Life of Brandt," Simms, "Frontiersman of New York" Benton's "History of Herkimer County" and the several biographies of Sir William Johnson contain many incidents connected with the history of Tryon County, but I have not been able to find any work which claims to give, even a complete outline sketch of the history of that great county which figured so prominently in Revolutionary times.

The object of this paper will be to partially, supply this deficiency.

TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

The Treaty made with the Indians in 1768 at Fort Stanwix by Sir William Johnson and the Governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania and Commissioners of Virginia, was one of the most important treaties made before the Revolutionary War. It was a remarkable conference, attended by more than three thousand Indians and the result of it was a deed, executed by the Six Nations who claimed by right of conquest all the territory now covered by the States of New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and part of Michigan. This deed relinquished to the King of England the

Indian title to all lands lying east of a line which begun at the mouth of the Cherokee (Tennessee) river, where it empties into the river Ohio and running thence on the south side of the Ohio River, up that stream to Kittaning above Fort Pitt from thence by a direct line eastwardly through the Alleghany mountains to the west branch of the Susquehanna, thence along the south side of that stream to a point opposite the mouth of the Tiadaghton Creek; thence up the south side of that creek, along the north side of Burnetts Hills to a creek called Awadee; thence down the same to the east branch of the Susquehanna, across that stream, and up the east side to Oswego, thence eastwardly to the Delaware River and up that river to a point opposite where the Tiandua falls into the Susquehanna, thence to Tiandua (Unadilla) thence up the west side of its west branch to the head thereof, and thence by a direct line to Canada Creek, where it empties into the Wood creek at the west of the carrying place of Fort Stanwix.

The lands of the Mohawks around their villages and of other Indians similarly situated were to remain to them. The consideration paid for this magnificent territory, which covered a large part of what is now four States,

was ten thousand four hundred and sixty pounds, seven shillings, and three pence, and by the terms of the treaty, Fort Stanwix near the site of the present city of Rome was to be dismantled. This treaty pacified the Indians, and it was then supposed, fixed for all time, the western limit of the English settlements, and guaranteed to the Indians the undisturbed possession of the lands lying west of the line described in the deed. It fixed the western boundary of the colony of New York and of the county of Albany. All the important patents of land granted by the King and colonies, were east of this line, and the faithful observance of this treaty by Sir William Johnson secured the allegiance of the Six Nations to British crown.

WILLIAM TRYON.

William Tryon, who had been Governor of North Carolina and had distinguished himself in that colony by his efforts to suppress the Sons of Liberty, was transferred to New York, and became Governor. He reached the city of New York July 8th, 1772 and because of his wicked career in North Carolina was very obnoxious to the patriots of that city. He was known among the New York Sons of Liberty as "Bloody Billy". Over zealous in the cause of King and Parliament; more than willing to execute all the laws for taxing the people of the colonies, he was idolized and admired by the Tories, and thoroughly hated by the patriots. He was a fit tool to do the work of the oppressors in those unsettled times, which preceded, and led up to, the Revolutionary War. Before his coming, in January 1772, steps had been taken for a division of Albany County.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Sir William Johnson was at that time the most influential man in the Mohawk Valley, he had already run a great career, had a brilliant military record, was the possessor of a very large estate, had risen from an humble fur trader, to the position of a Baronet, was in high favor with the King, had received from

the King's own hand the title to the Royal Grant, a tract of over ninety thousand acres on the north side of the Mohawk river, distinguished as "The Royal Grant," because it was the only patent of land in America which bore the signature of the King himself. Sir William's son John had been knighted in England in 1765, his two daughters by his wife Catherine were well married, Mary to her cousin Guy Johnson, and Anna to Col. Daniel Claus; Johnson Hall, Sir William's residence at Johnstown, was a magnificent establishment where the rich of the colony visited him and held high revel. Johnson himself was a true courtier, and knew the importance of being in favor with the governor, he was undoubtedly ambitious to become the head of a great house, and perhaps to build up in America, an estate and title which might rival and become as important as some of the estates and titles in the Old World. He may even have hoped, that his Baronetcy might some day grow into an Earldom or Dukedom, and his descendants rank among the highest of England's nobility: at any rate he was active in setting up a county government at his own town of Johnstown and carving out for its support a great territory which in honor of the coming governor was called Tryon County.

TRYON COUNTY FORMED.

On March 12th, 1772 the council of the colony passed, and the governor approved an act to divide Albany county into three counties, Albany, Charlotte and Tryon. Charlotte included the territory of what is now the state of Vermont. The easterly boundary of Tryon county was a line drawn from a point on the Mohawk river near where the present village of Hoffman's Ferry stands, running due north to its intersection with the St. Lawrence river at the mouth of the Regis river; thence up along the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario to Oswego; thence along the Oswego river, Oneida lake and Wood creek, and along the eastern line of the Indian country to the Delaware river; thence

up the west branch of the Delaware river and in a northeasterly direction to the place of Leginning. This covered a very large territory, and in a report to the home government made by Gov. Tryon June 11th, 1774, the governor says, "Tryon county, though thinly settled, as its extent is great has many inhabitants." From this territory has since been created the counties of Montgomery, Fulton, Hamilton, St Lawrence, Herkimer, Lewis, Jefferson, Oneida, Oswego, Osego and parts of several others.

BOOM AT JOHNSTOWN.

All the civil officers save one were nominated by Johnson and they were his friends and henchmen. Johnstown now became the center of bustle and activity, new roads were laid out, a jail and county court house were built; the town grew rapidly. Governor Tryon and his wife visited Johnson hall and were royally entertained by the baronet. Tryon dipped into real estate speculation in the new county, he reviewed the militia at Johnstown at Burnettsfield and at German Flatts, some fourteen hundred in all.

DEATH OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

The boom was on in the new country, Sir William was friendly with the Indians, and kept faith with them. The line of division between the lands of the whites and Indians had been drawn. At the great council four years before, a line which the Indians fondly supposed was to last forever had been fixed. Johnson used every possible effort upon his part to prevent encroachments of whites upon Indian lands and to maintain friendly relations between the Iroquois and the inhabitants of Tryon county. He lived openly with Molly Brandt, his Indian mistress, and she presided over his house and he provided for her children in his will, but he was nearing the end of his career and although not yet sixty years of age he died on the 9th of July 1774, only two years after the new county was organized. What might have been the history of Tryon county had Sir William Johnson lived, is only a matter

of speculation, what was its history is the subject which concerns us now.

MILITIA OF THE COUNTY.

Governor Tryon in his report to the home government of June 3rd, 1773, credits the county with three regiments of militia, twenty-nine companies and three colonels. This report must have been made up shortly after his tour through the county and his review of the militia above referred to. The territory was divided by a law passed March 24th, 1772, into five districts, the Mohawk district was the eastern one situated on both sides of the river, extending from the eastern boundaries of the county to the place known as Anthony's Nose. The Canajoharie district was on the south side of the river and extended from the western limit of the Mohawk district as far west as Little Falls, the Stone Arabia district, afterwards called the "Palatine District" was on the north side of the river between the Mohawk district and Little Falls, the German Flatts district on the north side and the Kingsland district on the south side took in all the remainder of the territory. On March 8th, 1773 the names of these two last districts were changed and the south side was called German Flatts and the north side Kingsland.

GERMAN SETTLEMENTS.

The German settlements of the Palatines occupied what was then the extreme frontier in and about Fort Herkimer and Fort Dayton, now the site of Herkimer village.

The settlement at Fort Dayton and the church at Fort Herkimer had been burned by the Indians and French in 1757 and 1758, respectively, but the church had been rebuilt and the settlers had returned to their homes. There were a few settlements made before the revolutionary war north and south of the Mohawk river in what is now Herkimer county for a distance back from the river of about twenty miles. On the south side there was the settlement of Androstown now in the town of Warren and a settlement in what is now the town of Columbia, on

the north side there were settlements in what is now the town of Fairfield, and a man by the name of Mount had settled on the creek which now bears his name in the town of Ohio. There was a settlement where Utica now is, which was then called Fort Schuyler, named in honor of Peter Schuyler, and an outpost at Rome called Fort Stanwix. There were settlements in the Schoharie valley at Cherry Valley and in the western part of what is now Delaware county.

At the breaking out of the revolution, Fort Stanwix, which had been dismantled under the provisions of the Indian treaty was rebuilt and named Fort Schuyler in honor of Gen. Philip Schuyler

FIRST OFFICERS OF THE COUNTY.

Guy Johnson, son-in-law of Sir William, was the first judge of the new county, and he was followed in that office by Jacob Klock, Jellis Fonda and Frederick Fisher.

Alexander white was the first sheriff, and he was succeed in 1775 by John Fry 3rd, in 1777 by Anthony Van Vechton 4th, in 1778 by Anthony Van Vechton 5th in 1781 by Abram VanHorne and in 1785 by Samuel Clyde.

Hendrick Fry and Guy Johnson represented Tryon county in the 31st colonial assembly, the last session of which closed April 3rd, 1775. Cadwallader Colden, acting governor of New York after Governor Tryen left the country,, in his report to the home government said that Tryon county was not represented in the provincial congress, which met May 22d, 1775, but we find on the roll of that body the names of John Marlett, John Moore and Christopher P. Yates as representatives from Tryon county. The proceedings of that body were held with closed doors and none but members, all of whom were pledged to secrecy, were permitted to take copies of the minutes. Provision was made for the publication of the minutes at the close of the session, except such part as by unanimous vote were to be kept secret. These rules governed the succeeding provincial con-

gresses but the journal was not printed until 1842.

In the second congress John Moore, Isaac Paris and William Will represented Tryon county and in the third congress John Moore, William Harper, Benjamin Newkirk, Volkert Veeder, Isaac Paris and Christopher P. Yates.

In the fourth congress the same men were present except Yates. The fourth provincial congress closed its labors May 13th 1777 and gave place to the first state assembly which met at Kingston, September 1st, 1777 and in which Tryon county had six representatives, Samuel Clyde, Michael Edick, Jacob G. Klock, Jacob Snell, Abram Van Horne and Johannes Veeder.

The county was entitled to six members of the assembly under the first constitution and was represented as Tryon county during the first seven sessions. In the first state senate we find as senators from the western district the familiar names of Isaac Paris and Jellis Fonda and in the second session the name of Jacob G. Klock. Fonda sat again in the third senate and Fonda and Klock in the fourth.

Christopher P. Yates was county clerk and held the office for many years. From this showing it is evident that Tryon county participated in the organization of the new state government, and that although the influence of the Johnson family had been almost supreme in the county before the breaking out of the war, and although there were many Tories among the leading families, still the people were faithful to the patriot cause and had men among them able and willing to represent them in the halls of legislation.

COMMITTEE OF SAFETY MEET.

On the second day of June 1775, a meeting of the Committee of Safety from the different districts of Tryon county was held at which there were forty-two members present. Christopher P. Yates was chosen chairman of that body and immediate action was taken to organize the militia and resist the encroachments of the crown. The Rev.

Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Oneidas was requested to use his influence with that tribe and endeavor to persuade them to remain neutral during the war. They were induced to send delegates to Boston to visit Washington. These delegates were impressed by what they saw and, convinced that the British emissaries had tried to deceive them, they returned to their tribe and so reported.

NICHOLAS HERKIMER MADE COLONEL.

Most of the Oneidas and some of the Tuscaroras remained neutral during the war and some of them became allies of the patriots and performed very important services. Among these latter were Skenando, an Oneida chief who died at his residence near Oneida Castle, March 11, 1816, aged 110 years. The militia of Tryon county was organized in 1775 and Nicholas Herkimer who had seen service in the French and Indian war was made colonel. In 1776 he was commissioned brigadier general. The militia consisted of five battallions of infantry, one battallion of minute men, a company of associated exempts and three companies of rangers.

The first battallion was commanded by Col. Nicholas Herkimer, the second by Col. Jacob Klock, the third by Col. Frederick Fisher, the fourth (until he deserted to the enemy) by Col. Han Jost Herkimer and then, by Col. Peter Bellinger, the fifth by Major Joseph Harper. The battallion of minute men by Col. Samuel Campbell, the company of associated exempts by Capt. Jellis Fonda and the companies of rangers by Capt. John Winn, Capt. Getman and Capt. Kasselman. After Col. Herkimer became brigadier general the command of the first battallion fell upon Col. Ebenezer Cox. Gen. Herkimer was a member of the committee of safety in the Canajoharie district and its chairman; these committees exercised many of the powers of local government in their districts, they organized the militia and took measures to preserve order and to promote the patriot cause. Gen. Herkimer became the leading military man among

the patriots in the county and was chairman of the united committees of safety for the several districts.

HERKIMER MEETS BRANDT.

In June 1777 with about four hundred soldiers he went to Unadilla to have an interview with Brandt, the Mohawk chief, with the object of securing, if possible, the friendship and if not that, at least the neutrality of the Mohawks in the war. The effort was unsuccessful and although Brandt and Herkimer parted at Unadilla as friends, they soon after met as enemies upon the battlefield of Oriskany. The plan for the British campaign of 1777 was intended to divide and conquer the State of New York. Burgoyne was to move down from Canada via Lake Champlain, with an army supposed to be sufficiently large to sweep all before him. Sir Henry Clinton was to come up the Hudson river from New York with another army, Col. St. Leger with his Tory and Indian allies was to advance from Oswego and sweep down the Mohawk valley, while McDonald with his Tory contingent was to invade the Schoharie settlements. The plan was a most excellent one, and had it been successfully executed the southern and middle colonies would have been effectually cut off from the northern and eastern ones. But it failed, and the Tryon county militia were largely the cause of its failure.

THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY.

Col. St. Leger advanced without hindrance and invested Fort Stanwix (then called Fort Schuyler) which was garrisoned by Col. Peter Gansevoort with seven hundred and fifty men. Gansevoort would not surrender, and St. Leger began the siege August 2nd, 1797. Gen. Herkimer called out the militia of Tryon county, and advanced with about eight hundred men to relieve the fort. They were undisciplined farmers, Herkimer's caution was misunderstood and misinterpreted. The rendezvous was at Fort Dayton, and from that point the advance was made upon Fort Stanwix, the patriots were brave, and ready for the fray. Communication with the fort was at

empted and Gansevoort was requested to send out a detachment to make a sortie on the enemy's camp, the signal to be the firing of canon, but Herkimer's followers could not wait for the signal and while moving forward on the morning of the 6th of August, 1777, near the crossing of the Oriskany, in a ravine, they were ambushed by the Tories and Indians and the battle of Oriskany was fought. It was one of the most sanguinary battles of the revolutionary war and lasted about six hours. The patriots were surprised, divided and the rear guard was beaten and fled from the field, but Herkimer took a position upon rising ground and held it. A severe storm of rain separated the combatants for a time, but after the storm fighting was resumed, a sortie from the fort by a detachment under Col. Willett broke up the attack and the enemy retreated from the field. Willett regained the fort with his command and when Gansevoort was again summoned to surrender, he raised in defiance five British ensigns captured by Willett and over them the American flag, which was made of white and blue shirts and a scarlet cloak that belonged to a soldier's wife. This flag, the stars and stripes, the red, white and blue, first made its appearance at Fort Stanwix raised in victory over British colors.

Gen. Herkimer was left in possession of the battle field of Oriskany but he was badly wounded, had lost nearly half of his command, and without attempting to bury his dead he withdrew down the Mohawk, was taken to his home (the house is still standing about two miles below Little Falls) and about ten days after the battle he died.

THE TORIES FRIGHTENED.

About two weeks after the battle of Oriskany Gen. Arnold with an army of a thousand men came up the valley, stopped at Fort Dayton, and from thence sent forward a captured tory refugee who had been sentenced to death but was offered pardon in case he faithfully performed the service assigned him. His name was Han Jost Schuyler. His

brother Nicholas having been left as a hostage in Arnold's hands, Schuyler went into the British camp and reported that Arnold was coming with a large body of men to relieve the fort, the Tories and Indians were frightened, the siege was raised and Col. St. Leger retreated to Canada. Whatever may be said of the after career of Benedict Arnold, it is certain that the inhabitants of Tryon county were under great obligations to him for his services on this occasion. Gen. Gates thought that no troops could be spared from the army near Saratoga, which was confronting Burgoyne, but Arnold begged to be assigned to this service and called for volunteers. His expedition was entirely successful and he should receive the credit which is due him. About the same time Col. Harper defeated McDonald near Middleburgh in the Schoharie country and Tryon county was saved. After Gen. Herkimer's death Col. Marinus Willett commanded the brigade and the troops assigned to the protection of Tryon county. The brigade served at different times until 1783.

GARRISONS MAINTAINED.

Garrisons were maintained at Fort Stanwix, Fort Dayton, Fort Plain, and other places along the border and throughout the county. These forts and block houses furnished places of refuge to which the inhabitants fled for safety when surprised. The settlements were continually harassed. Sir John Johnson, Col. Walter Butler, Joseph Brandt and other Tory and Indian leaders made incursions into Tryon county and many a burning home and murdered settler marked the pathway of the marauder. Gen. Sullivan's expedition into the Indian country in 1779 was a terrible visitation and retribution upon the enemy. He laid waste and destroyed their country, they were driven out of their villages, and in a starving condition many of them sought safety in Canada, their power was broken, but they continued to make raids along the border and the most revengeful and bitter feeling prevailed upon both sides. It is not the purpose of

this sketch to give the details of any of these affairs. The Cherry Valley and Androstown Massacres; the murder of the Mount boys; the brave defense of his block house by Christian Schell; the frequent visits of the enemy to the vicinity of Fort Dayton; the pursuit and death of Walter Butler, are all matters of local interest which might receive a passing notice but they are familiar stories to most of you, and can only be referred to here.

A BITTER BORDER WAR.

Col. Willett was sometimes at one fort and sometimes at another. There were surprises at all hours of the day and night and at all seasons of the year. There were skirmishes, battles they were called, at Sharon, at Johnstown, in the Schoharie Valley, all over Tryon county. It was the seat of an active and bitter border war and Col. Willett was a brave and vigilant leader.

The incidents of this strife are vividly depicted by Judge Campbell in "The Annals of Tryon County" and by Mr. Simms in his "Schoharie County History" and "Frontiersmen of New York."

In the spring of 1782 Col. Willett made an attempt to capture the British Fort at Oswego but his Indian guide led him astray and being short of provisions, he was compelled to abandon the enterprise. The British held this Fort throughout the war, and for many years after its close. It was a strong position and was a continual menace to the patriots during the war, and after the Treaty of Peace it was held by the British for the purpose of enforcing the agreement made by the United States at the time that Treaty was made, to pay debts owed to British subjects before the war and the recommendation of the general government to the several states to re-imburse tory refugees for confiscated property. The several states refused to accede to such recommendation, and the British parliament finally appropriated sixteen millions of dollars to re-imburse such tory refugees and gave them large grants of land in Nova Scotia, the West Indies, and in Canada, and at last in 1796 with-

drew their troops from Oswego and abandoned the Fort. It was the last territory in New York evacuated by the British. On the 21 day of December 1784 the Six Nations again met the whites in conference at Fort Stanwix. Sixteen years had passed since that line which was to last forever had been drawn between the lands of the Indians and the white man.

TRYON CHANGED TO MONTGOMERY.

The great county of Tryon had passed into history for on the 2d day of April 1784, during the seventh session of the State Assembly the name had been stricken from the statute book, and the honored name of Montgomery had taken its place. These eventful years had witnessed the birth of a new nation, and the people of Tryon county had done their full share in the work of its creation. A war, begun because the people would not submit to taxation without representation, had cost the county large sums of money, and the lives of many brave men. The portion allotted to Tryon county in the state tax of October 21st, 1779 was \$81,766.00, in the state tax of April 6th, 1780, \$120,000. These were large sums, for the people of a new county to raise by taxation, and besides they had suffered terribly throughout the war from the ravages of the enemy, but they were victorious, and their representatives came to this conference in triumph. But the Indians did not come as they had come in 1768, now, they were beaten and defeated, many of their warriors had been slain, their country had been ravaged, their villages burned, their orchards destroyed, their great ally, the English King, had been forced to acknowledge the independence of the colonies, and all but the friendly Oneidas and Tuscaroras were in sorrow and in humiliation.

Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee were the Commissioners for the United States, Gov. George Clinton and General Lafayette were present. Cornplanter and Redjacket were the principal Indian speakers. Redjacket did not care to bury the hatchet, but Cornplanter saw the folly of waging war

with the young republic, and a Treaty was made which enlarged the borders of the Empire State, and opened up to settlement, the fertile lands of western New York.

The history of Tryon county proper, is confined to the period of twelve years from the time it was organized, until the day its name was changed to Montgomery. Four years later by the statute passed March 7th, 1788, defining the limits of the counties of the state, Montgomery was to contain "All that part of

this state bounded easterly by the counties of Ulster, Albany, Washington and Clinton, sontherly by the state of Pennsylvania and westerly and northerly by the west and north bounds of this state."

If Virginia can be called the Mother of States, Montgomery may certainly be called "The Mother of Counties." For all the thirty-five counties of northern, central and western New York have been carved out of what was once the county of Montgomery.

CONTINENTAL MONEY.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM COWEN PRESCOTT,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, March 9, 1897.

Several months ago Judge Earl suggested that I should write a paper to read before the Herkimer County Historical society on "Continental Money." At first I thought that the subject would not prove interesting and that it would be difficult to get hold of enough material for an article, but a very brief investigation satisfied me that my chief difficulty would be in deciding what matters to leave out rather than what to put into the paper.

The subject of money, its uses and functions, and the merits and demerits of the various kinds of currency were exhaustively considered and discussed in the newspapers, on the platforms and by individuals during the presidential campaign of 1896, but very seldom was reference made to the kind of money which is the subject of this paper.

The term "Continental Money" is applied to the paper money or bills of credit issued by the authority of the Continental Congress of the United States in the years 1775, 1776, 1778, and 1779. The adjective "Continental" was used to distinguish this paper money from that issued by the Colonies.

COLONIAL PAPER MONEY.

The first issue of bills of credit in the Colonies was by Massachusetts in 1790. Her troops had returned from an ex-

pedition against Canada and there was no money in the treasury to pay them. They demanded pay and to quiet them, the General Court issued forty thousand pounds in due bills, which were taken for taxes, but did not bear interest and were not legal tender, and passed at a discount of from thirty to forty per cent.

The other colonies followed the example of Massachusetts and issued bills of credit from time to time. This money was usually below par and in many cases was never redeemed, and it caused a great deal of discord and discussion down to the time of the Revolution.

REASONS FOR ISSUING CONTINENTAL MONEY.

The first Continental Congress met in September 1774. The purpose of the meeting was not separation from the mother country, but to obtain a redress for grievances. The second session commenced May 10, 1775. The war with Great Britain had then commenced and money was needed to buy arms, ammunition and other supplies.

It is estimated that at this time there were only about \$10,000,000 in specie in all the colonies, and they had but recently paid the debts contracted in the war with France. It is not probable that Congress could have raised money by direct tax upon the colonies. It had no chief executive and no financial officer.

The people had rebelled because Parliament claimed the right to tax the colonies without their consent. If a tax had been ordered Congress had no power to enforce its collection. Noah Webster writing only a few years after the close of the war said, "Money could not be raised by taxation, could not be borrowed."

While the financial question was being discussed in Congress one delegate said, "Do you think, gentlemen, that I will consent to load my constituents with taxes, when you can send to our printer and get a wagon load of money, one quire of which will pay for the whole?"

Congress, therefore, determined to issue Continental paper currency and asked for suggestions from the several Colonial Assemblies. One of the plans recommended by the Provincial Assembly of New York was adopted, viz: the money to be issued by Congress; every colony to be bound to discharge its proportion; and the United Colonies to be bound to pay the part which any colony might fail to discharge.

RESOLUTIONS OF CONGRESS.

June 22, 1775, the Congress resolved as follows: "That a sum not exceeding two millions of Spanish milled dollars be emitted by the Congress, in bills of credit, for the defense of America," and, "That the twelve confederated colonies be pledged for the redemption of the bills of credit now directed to be emitted." Each colony was required to pay its proportion in four annual payments commencing in November 1779.

DESCRIPTION OF BILLS.

One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight and twenty dollar bills were directed to be issued, their form to be as follows:

"No. _____ \$ _____

This bill entitles the bearer to receive _____ Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in gold or silver, according to the resolutions of Congress, held at Philadelphia on the 10th day of May A. D. 1775."

A gun engraver named Smithers was employed to prepare the plates. The

ornamental portions were engraved on type metal but the body of the lettering was in the ordinary movable type. On the face of each bill, besides the form given above, was a device and motto. The following are some of the devices and mottoes:

On the four dollar bill a wild boar rushing upon the hunter's spear; the motto, "*Aut Mors Aut Vita Decora*," "Either death or an honorable life."

On the five dollar bill, an open hand attempting to grasp a thorny bush and made to bleed thereby; the motto, "*Sustine Vel Abstine*," "Bear with me, or let me alone."

On the six dollar bill, a beaver gnawing down a tree; the motto, "*Perseverando*," "By persevering."

On the seven dollar bill, a heavy storm with a bit of clear sky in the distance; the motto, "*Serenabit*," "It will clear up."

On a fifty dollar bill, which was issued September 26, 1778, an unfinished pyramid with thirteen layers of stone representing the thirteen colonies; the motto, "*Perennis*," "Everlasting."

On the sixty dollar bill, also issued in 1778, a globe in the heavens; the motto, "*Deus Regnat Exultat Terra*," "The Lord reigns, let the earth rejoice."

On a sixty-five dollar bill, issued January 14, 1779, a hand holding equally balanced scales over the earth; the motto, "*Fiat Justitia*," "Let justice be done."

On an eighty dollar bill, also issued January 14, 1779, a large oak tree; the motto; "*Et in Secula Seculorum Florescebit*," "And it will flourish through ages of ages."

The paper money of the Colonies had often been counterfeited. To guard against this, various devices and marks were printed on paper similar to the bills and pasted on their backs. The words, "To counterfeit is death," or "Tis death to counterfeit," were also printed on the bills.

In 1772 Col. Philip Schuyler proposed in the General Assembly of the Province of New York to back the paper money

with the following cheerful (?) emblems and words: "An all seeing eye in a cloud, a cart and coffins, three felons on a gallows, a weeping father and mother with several small children, a burning pit, human figures poured into it by fiends, and a label with the words, 'Let the name of the counterfeiter rot.'" To guard against counterfeiting the continental money, devices, usually a branch with leaves, or a leaf or leaves were printed and pasted on the back of the bills. Also the name and address of the printer and the year of the issue. Secret marks devised by the Board of Treasury were also placed upon the bills.

Congress authorized twenty-eight citizens of Philadelphia to sign and number the bills and the names of two persons were required to be written on each bill. The compensation was fixed at one dollar and one-third to each person for every thousand bills he numbered and signed

AMOUNT OF CONTINENTAL MONEY ISSUED.

When the first issue of the paper money was authorized by Congress it was believed that the war would not last long and that it would not be necessary to make further issues, but the war was prolonged and one issue followed another in rapid succession for a period of over four years. The first issue, two millions, was ordered June 22, 1775, and three millions more were issued the same year. February 17, 1776, an issue of four millions was ordered. In order to aid in getting the bills into circulation, and to give the people small change in place of the silver which had ceased to circulate, over one half of this issue was in fractional bills of one-sixth, one-third, one half and two thirds of a dollar. In 1778 fourteen different issues, aggregating over sixty-three millions were ordered. The largest single issue was that of January 14, 1779, fifty millions. The last issue was November 29, 1779, and the total amount issued was \$242,660,780.

EFFORTS MADE TO KEEP PAPER MONEY AT PAR WITH GOLD AND SILVER.

In order to prevent the depreciation of

the paper money and to get it into circulation, Congress asked the States to pass laws making the money legal tender in payment of all debts, and they all did so.

In 1777 Congress resolved that all bills of credit emitted by authority of Congress ought to pass current in all payments in the States, and be deemed equal in value to the same nominal sums in Spanish milled dollars, and that those who should refuse to receive them at such valuations should be deemed enemies of their country. In the same year Congress recommended the States to stop issuing bills of credit and rely upon the paper money provided by Congress. All of the states followed the advice of Congress and ceased to issue paper money.

General Putman, while in command at Philadelphia, ordered that "Should any of the inhabitants be so lost to public virtue and the welfare of their country as to presume to refuse the currency of the American States in payment for any commodities they may have for sale, the goods shall be forfeited and the person or persons so refusing committed to close confinement."

General Washington was vested with power to take whatever provisions were needed for the army if the inhabitants were unwilling to sell them for a reasonable price, and to arrest and confine all who refused to receive the Continental money. Prices for labor was fixed by law and many of the States attempted to prevent a rise of prices for commodities by legal enactment, and Congress recommended that all States take such action.

In the city of Albany a committee was chosen to regulate prices. Two persons who had sold rum for more than the established price, were publicly cried through the city and being placed upon a scaffold in the market place confessed their guilt and promised amendment.

As the attempt to fix prices by legislation failed, Congress in October 1778 voted, "That all limitations of prices of gold and silver be taken off."

DEPRECIATION IN VALUE.

As, when the paper money first appeared, no one supposed that very much of it would be issued, its value was maintained at par with gold and silver for some time Ramsy says, "The United States for a considerable time derived as much benefit from this paper creation of their own, though without any established funds for its support or redemption, as would have resulted from a free gift of so many Mexican dollars."

The depreciation of the paper currency commenced in 1776 and notwithstanding all the efforts to keep it at par it steadily declined in value. In November 1776 one dollar in specie was worth three dollars in Continental money; in April 1778 four dollars, in October 1778, five dollars; in March 1779, ten dollars; in September 1779, eighteen dollars; in December 1779, twenty-six dollars; in April 1780, forty dollars; in August, 1780, seventy dollars, and in February 1781, seventy-five dollars.

The depreciation became so rapid that Professor Sumner said that, "A man might lose his whole wages while earning them."

In May, 1781, William Cooper wrote from Boston to his rother in Philadelphia, that "Dollars till lately were seventy-five for one, the southern gentry have offered one hundred and twenty of the old bills for one hard dollar."

Bolles in his valuable work on the Financial History of the United States, says that the final blow was given by merchants and brokers in the Southern states who pushed immense quantities of it suddenly into New England, making enormous purchases with it, whereupon, as stated by Noah Webster, "Instantly the bills vanished from circulation." James Madison states that occasionally paper money was exchanged to a very small extent as late as 1782, but, at an enormous discount, and merely to serve special local purposes.

The following are the items of a bill of goods dated January 5, 1781; the prices being given in Continental money:

1 pair boots.....	\$ 600 00
6¾ yards calico at 85 ds	752 00

6 yards cbintz at 150 ds.	900 00
4¾ yards moreen at 100 ds	450 00
4 handkerchiefs at 100 ds.....	400 00
8 yards quality binding at 4 ds.....	32 00
1 skein of silk.....	10 00
	\$3,144 00

Fiske in his work on the "American Revolution," states that at Boston, in October, 1780, the wholesale prices of certain commodities were as follows: Sugar \$10 per pound, butter \$12 per pound, tea \$90 per pound, Indian corn \$150 per bushel, flour \$1,575 per barrel; and that Samuel Adams paid \$2,000 for a hat and suit of clothes.

Simms in his "Frontiersmen of New York," says that an old soldier informed him that he once sent an eight dollar Continental bill to buy a quart of cider and received in change a two dollar bill, Rhode Island currency; and that an officer of his acquaintance once paid seventy dollars in Continental money for a single mug of flip. Washington said that it too, a wagon load of money to buy a wagon load of provisions.

The expression "Not worth a Continental" still in common use, is a synonym for absolute worthlessness, and it originated at the time when a continental bill had ceased to have any purchasing power.

CAUSES OF DEPRECIATION.

The following are some of the principal reasons for the depreciation in value of the Continental money.

1. The large quantity issued. The printing presses were at work nearly all of the time and then could hardly print it as fast as it was ordered.

2. Counterfeiting. Notwithstanding the precautions taken to prevent counterfeiting, the bills were successfully counterfeited. The states, upon the recommendation of Congress, passed stringent laws against counterfeiting and Congress offered a reward of two thousand dollars for the conviction of one who forged or knowingly passed counterfeit money; but they were unable to prevent it.

Lossing says that Sir Henry Clinton, the British Commander in the city of New York, was at the head of the gang

of counterfeiters and the Loyalists all over the country were his accomplices.

The New York Mercury of April 14, 1777, contained an advertisement stating that "Persons going into other colonies may be supplied with any number of counterfeit Congress notes for the price of the paper per ream."

Phillips in his work on "Continental Paper Money" states "that a ship-load of counterfeit Continental money coming from Britian was captured by an American privateer."

The British government encouraged and promoted this counterfeiting, not for gain, but believing that if their paper money could be destroyed, the Americans would be obliged to submit on account of a lack of funds to carry on the war

The bills issued May 20, 1777 and April 11, 1778, were counterfeited so extensively that Congress voted to retire those issues. Instead of preventing depreciation, this action by Congress caused these two issues to depreciate twenty-five per cent.

3. The bills when first issued were not made legal tender in payment of debts.

4. The several states continued to issue their own bills of credit until nearly the year 1778; and individuals also issued tokens, certificates, etc., which helped to further swell the flood of paper money.

5. No adequate provision had been made for the redemption of the bills of credit and the credit of the government was not good.

6. Many people believed that the war would prove a failure and that the bills would then be worthless.

7. The action taken by Congress in March, 1780, attempting to redeem all of the Continental money by new issues based upon the credit of the states and guaranteed by the United States at the rate of forty dollars of the old issues for one of the new, called the "Forty for one Act."

In May, 1778, in an address to the people Congress gave the following reasons

for the depreciation of the paper money. "Because no taxes have been imposed to carry on the war; because your commerce hath been interrupted by your enemies fleet; because their armies have ravaged and desolated a part of your country; because their agents have villainously counterfeited your bills; because extortioners among you, inflamed with the lust for gain have added to the price of every article of life and because weak men have been artfully led to believe that it is of no value."

Although Washington endeavored to keep the Continental money at par, he became convinced that the effort was useless. In speaking of its depreciation he said, "The law undoubtedly was well designed. It was intended to stamp a value upon and to give free circulation to the paper bills of credit, but it never was nor could have been intended to make a man take a shilling or a sixpence in the pound for a just debt which the debtor is well able to pay and thereby involve himself in ruin. I am sure no honest man would attempt to pay twenty shillings with one or perhaps half a one."

White in his work on "Money and Banking," says that "after the Revolution and to the end of his life Washington was an inflexible opponent of bills of credit."

A great deal has been written about the evils growing out of the use of the Continental paper money but to enter upon that field would make this article much too long.

WHAT BECAME OF THE CONTINENTAL MONEY?

It is probable that the greater part of the Continental money was destroyed soon after the people were satisfied that it was worthless. Some of it was held for many years by persons who believed that the United States would eventually redeem it. A barber in Boston papered his shop with the bills. A dog smeared with tar, and then covered with the bills was led up and down the street. Samuel Breck of Philadelphia says that the sailors paraded the streets with their clothes covered with bills that once represented thousands of dollars.

Simms says that in an inventory of the property of Jacob F. Lawyer of Schoharie County was the following item, "306 Continental dollars and one New York bill of five dollars;" And he says that some of the Schoharie farmers had large amounts of it. The bills are now very rare and are seldom found except in collections of paper money. B. J. Lossing, writing in 1863 says that Dr. Josiah I. Cohen of Baltimore, Md. had a specimen of every denomination of every issue of the old emission of Continental money and that it was believed to be the only perfect collection in the country, as that of Col. Peter Force of

Washington, lacked one or two bills of the very rare issue of April 11, 1778.

Thomas W. Grosvenor of Herkimer has a small collection of Colonial and Continental money. The largest collection in Herkimer county, so far as I can learn, is the one in the possession of Fred T. Ingersoll of Ilion, N. Y. His great uncle, Elias Palmer, who lived at Frankfort, spent a great deal of time and money on this collection. He made a large case for it out of a part of the first canal boat which navigated the Erie canal. This collection includes Colonial, Continental and other paper currency issued from 1759 to 1800.

HERKIMER COUNTY GEOLOGY IN PRIMITIVE DAYS.

AN ADDRESS BY ALBERT L. HOWELL, OF MOHAWK,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, April 13, 1897

A careless observer of nature in all her varied scenes may see much to admire in the beauty of the landscape. Spread out before him he sees the mountain ranges, forests, valleys and streams which are ever a source of delight to view, and he imagines that the same beauty in form and outline now presented has always existed. He will look at the formation of the rocky hills, but does not read in them a history replete with interest recorded on the pages of their stony books revealing their hidden and mysterious formation and the changes that have been and are continually at work everywhere upon them, through the agency of water.

A more careful observer will see all the others see and he will also observe that the same view presents evidence of a great change that must have taken place at some remote period in the physical condition of the same landscape and he need not journey far to witness the proofs of the change, and may even behold it within the limits of his own county.

The geologists say that we are living at the bottom of what was once a deep lake, and that the barrier which held this immense valley lake was at Little Falls. At this point in the valley, the high ridge in the Alleghany range of mountains which divides the head waters of the Mohawk and other At-

lantic rivers, crosses the Mohawk valley. In the ages long past (ere the great falls of Niagara existed) no doubt was formed the crown of a cataract as magnificent as Niagara. The rocky bluffs on each side of this gorge rise to an altitude of nearly four hundred feet, and if the overflow of water was from this height, one can conceive what an immense tract of land lying in Central New York, beside the Mohawk valley, west of Little Falls, was entirely submerged.

Taking the combined number of feet of all the lock levels of the Erie canal from Little Falls to Frankfort village, there is only a rise of about fifty feet and then we reach a water level, extending westward sixty odd miles. From this we may estimate the depth and extent of this ancient body of water which the eye of man may never have beheld.

An obstruction at Little Falls of only seventy feet in height would cause this vast body of water to overflow the Rome summit and mingle with the waters of Lake Ontario by way of Wood Creek, Oneida Lake and the Oswego River. And if these streams were once the outlet of the great chain of lakes, there must have been a reversal of the flow of these rivers and there are many indications that this theory is correct. While sinking a well at Three Rivers there was

recently discovered an oak tree nearly three feet in diameter, fifty feet below the ground, proving that a great water course must have existed and that deep channels were filled up and trees covered by the deposit of alluvium.

The existence of this lake in Central New York adds much to the correctness of this theory. The valley of the Mohawk and Hudson were the continuation of this flow of water to the ocean and meeting with this barrier at Little Falls, caused the set-back of this enormous volume of water. The reversal of these rivers must have been caused by a great depression of Lake Ontario, as that lake is three hundred and thirty-four feet lower than Lake Erie, thereby opening the outlet of the chain of lakes through the St. Lawrence river and causing the existence of Niagara Falls. No accurate computation can be made of the ages it must have taken to wear away this formidable barrier and mountains of hardest rocks, which is composed chiefly of gneiss, granite and hornblend. Different theories have been advanced as to the agencies which caused the breaking of this rocky barrier and the mighty flood which took place in the valley below. One theory is that it was through volcanic action, and by its lifting power, straining the rocks until the barrier was rent in twain and the water rushed through. But the indications do not support this theory as there is no appearance of upheaval in the vicinity and it is not in the region of volcanic disturbance. The most reasonable theory is that it was by the constant abrasion of water and ice in its season, for a long period of time. In fact, the same agencies are at work at Niagara Falls, whose rocky walls are receding year by year and which will eventually cause a great change to take place in the face of the country, in the region of these lakes, causing the drainage of Lake Erie, which in the course of events may become a beautiful and productive valley, traversed by a continuation of the St. Clair and Detroit rivers and joining the waters at Lake Ontario through the terrific rapids of Niagara River.

Immediately below where this once great mountain barrier and waterfall existed, there is a basin whose depth is said to be more than a hundred feet, which no doubt was caused by the constant overpour of water and ice from this precipice and there is still to be seen in this deep water, rocky cones too hard to be abraded, resisting the attrition of water falling from this precipice and in other places, high above the water of the Mohawk river, may be seen bowl shaped cavities worn in the solid rock by the action of the water falling with great force and by the whirling of pieces of stone caught in eddies below, thus showing that at some period there was an extensive overpour of water. Whatever the extent of this rocky barrier may have been it is evident that the breaking away was sudden and caused a mighty flood in the valley below and in time transformed that which was a dreary waste of water to the beautiful valley in which we are now living, whose grandeur has been depicted in glowing words by the poet and narrated by the historian of the struggles of its first white settlers against invasion and massacre by the savage Indian tribes.

For many miles below in the valley are found fragments of this same rock which formed this barrier, the largest pieces lying nearest Little Falls and diminishing in size along down the valley, demonstrating that an immense flood must have taken place to have caused their removal such a long distance.

In the vicinity of the old home of General Herkimer numbers of these fragments may be seen, some of which have recently been used to form the enclosure of his burial plot and monument, thereby forming a link in the chain of events which transpired in the days long ago in this vicinity with that of his eventful life, and which may be taken as a symbol of the lasting memory held of him and his heroic deeds.

In the counties of Albany, Green and Ulster there is a valley three miles wide extending from Guelderland in the county of Ulster, a distance of about

miles along the base of the Helderberg and Catskill mountains.

An observer will readily see that this beautiful valley, as well as that of the Mohawk, was once the bottom of a large lake illustrating the drainage of other lakes in this part of the state.

One other interesting feature of this transformation in Herkimer county in connection with the drainage of this immense lake is that where all four villages in the valley are located, Herkimer, Mohawk, Ilion and Frankfort, the stony soil was no doubt deposited by the action of water flowing from streams emptying into this lake previous to its drainage or perhaps subsequently by some great flood caused by the breaking away of other bodies of water lying high upon the mountains which border the valley, and the sources of the present streams which empty into the Mohawk river. In nearly every instance where this deposit was made the river takes a bend to the north side of the valley but at Herkimer to the south side. The present sinuous course of the river was no doubt caused by this earth deposit which originally covered a larger area of the Mohawk flats than at present. And when the Mohawk river took up its course through the valley subsequent to this drainage much of this soil was washed away by the ice in its annual freshets.

It is probable that the West Canada creek formerly entered the valley at another point than the present one, as the high ridge about a mile north of Herkimer village through which this stream now flows, was no doubt once united causing the creek to take the course of the hydraulic canal around this high ridge and to enter the valley where the dam of Mirror Lake now is. Apparently its course was then north of where Fort Dayton was located and extending thence southerly past the old village cemetery to the Mohawk river. The indications that this was the course of the stream was more marked sixty years ago than at present.

The composition of the soil in each instance, especially at Herkimer and Mo-

hawk, corresponds with that which we find in the hills and valleys of the streams flowing into the Mohawk, being very rich with water worn cobblestones, each locality having a liberal supply and the site of Herkimer village was appropriately called the "Stony Ridge," by the first settlers.

Another evidence of the existence of this large lake, rocky barrier and high waterfall is to be found near the north shore of the Mohawk river a short distance from the New York Central and Hudson river railroad. From thirty to sixty feet above the present bed of the river is a large circular cavity made by the action of the water flowing from a precipice and on the side toward the river is an opening about ten feet square; over the entrance is the appearance of a massive head piece of a door frame apparently wrought and placed there by the hand of man. The cavity is open at the top and there are smaller cavities on its concave sides.

A romantic Indian legend is connected with this spot. "Long years ago there arose a feud between the Wolf and the Tortoise, two young chiefs belonging to tribes of the Indians dwelling in the Mohawk valley. A maiden of the Bear tribe was the cause of the feud (as maidens often are.) She was loved by both the young chiefs and for a time she so coquetted that each thought himself beloved by her in return. Her father was a stern old warrior and loved his child tenderly; both chiefs fought the Mingoes and Mohegans side by side, and the bravery of each entitled him to the hand of the maiden. Her affections were at length stirred by the more earnest importunities of the Wolf and she promised to become his bride. This decision reached the ears of Tortoise and the embers of jealousy which had slumbered while both were unaccepted suitors, burst into a flame in the bosom of the disappointed lover. He determined to possess the coveted treasure before the Wolf should take her to his wigwam. With well dissembled acquiescence in her choice, and expressions of warm friendship for herself and her

affianced he allayed all suspicions and when her affiance was away the maiden rambled with him in the moonlight upon the banks of the river unconscious of danger. The day approached for the

maiden to go to the wigwam of her lord, the Tortoise was with her alone in a secluded nook upon the brink of the river; his light canoe was near, and he proposed a voyage to a beautiful little island in the stream where the fireflies sparkled and the whippoorwill whispered its evening serenade. They launched out upon the stream but instead of paddling for the island the Tortoise turned his prow toward the rapids. Like an arrow they sped down the swift current while the young chief with vigorous arm paddled for the northern shore and skillfully steered his canoe to the mouth of the cavern. Upon the water's brink he seized the affrightened maiden and leaped ashore, at the same time securing his canoe by a strong green withe. The cave was dry, a soft bed of skins of beasts was spread and abundance of provision was there stored. At the top of the cave, far above the maiden's reach, an opening revealed a passage through the fissure to the rocks above. It was known only to the Tortoise and there he kept the maiden many months until her affianced gave her up as lost to him forever. At length while hunting on the southern hills in the flowery month of May, the Wolf saw the canoe of the Tortoise at the mouth of the cave. The evening was clear and the full moon shown brightly. He waited until mid night when, with an arm as strong and skillful as his rival's, he steered his canoe to the mouth of the cavern which was lighted by the moon, and by its light he saw the perfidious Tortoise sleeping by the side of his unwilling bride. The Wolf smote the Tortoise but

the wound was slight. The awakened warrior unable to grasp his hatchet bounded through the opening at the top of the cavern and closed it with a heavy stone.

The lovers embraced in momentary joy, but it was brief for a fearful doom seemed to await them. The Tortoise would soon return and they had to make choice of death by the hatchet of the rival chief or brave the perils of the foaming cataract.

The latter was their choice and in an affectionate embrace they sat in their canoe and made the fearful leap. The frail vessel struck propitiously upon the boiling waters and unharmed passed on to the quieter waters below. Down the broad stream they glided and upon the margin of the lower lake they lived and loved for two generations, and saw their children's children go out to battle and the chase. In the long line of their descent, tradition avers, came Brant the Mohawk Sachem, the strong wolf of his nation."

When we review the arrangement and design of the Creator in preparing the earth for the habitation of man, with the various changes and modifications which have been made from age to age in the physical condition of the same, all have been in accordance with the plans of the great Architect of the universe, to serve wise and benevolent purposes, and each successive change has been the better adapted for the habitation of man. The whole is made a storehouse of treasures for his well being, and he has only to unlock its doors with the key of industry and science to satisfy every want. Millions of years may have passed in its preparation to this end as is everywhere apparent. The parental attributes of His divine character is here illustrated.

EARLY NAVIGATION OF THE MOHAWK RIVER.

AN ADDRESS BY RUFUS A. GRIDER, OF CANAJOHARIE,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, April 13, 1897.

Persons, who at this time travel by Railroad through this fair and busy valley, can hardly realize the difficulties the traveller formerly met; how slowly he progressed, or how the change was brought about.

In 1788, the States of Massachusetts and New York, both claimed the lands of this state lying beyond Fort Stanwix, (now Rome, N. Y.,) containing about 8,000,000 acres, then inhabited by the six Nations. The dispute was settled by an amicable division. Massachusetts had sold their 4,000,000 acres to a Land Company, who had extinguished the Indian title to their portion.

TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

In September, 1788, Gov. Geo. Clinton, and other officials of this state, held a treaty at Fort Stanwix with the six Nations, hundreds of Indians attended, the whole plain around the Fort was covered with Indians of various tribes, (male and female), fantastically dressed; wearing a profusion of brooches; rings in their noses, their ears slit, their heads decorated with feathers, and most of them drunk. The French Ambassador and the Marchioness de Biron attended. This courageous lady had exposed herself to the greatest fatigues and privations, to gratify her curiosity, by coming all the way from the City of New York to witness this great and unusual assemblage of savage tribes. Both tracts

were opened to settlers. Many had already located themselves among the savages. Mr. Elkanah Watson, of Providence, R. I., a gentleman of leisure, was at that time travelling on horseback in the Mohawk Valley. At Johnstown, he learned of the treaty, and determined to witness it, that took him to Fort Stanwix (also named Fort Schuyler). Mr. Watson had recently returned from Europe, where he travelled in France, England and in the Netherlands. The canals everywhere attracted his attention. He travelled alone and on horseback. He observed that the Mohawk River presented but few obstacles to prevent navigation by flat bottom boats. While at Stanwix, he also searched beyond that point and soon found that in that vicinity was a divide, or watershed, the head waters of the Mohawk running eastward to the Hudson; a small stream near called Wood Creek went westward toward Lake Ontario. After his return to Providence he became a citizen of Albany. He began, through the press, to propose various public improvements, and also the feasibility of making the Mohawk River a waterway, and by it and Wood Creek, and other streams, reach the great inland Ocean, Lake Ontario. These articles attracted public attention. The journal kept by Mr. Watson was in evidence of what he saw on his trip.

EXPLORING THE MOHAWK.

In September, 1791, a party consisting of Mr. E. Watson, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Genl. P. Van Cortland and Stephen N. Bayard left Albany to examine into the feasibility of opening a waterway. Mr. Watson was the journalist. They hired two bateaus at Schenectady, engaged six men, laid in a supply of provisions to last six weeks and then sent the men and boats up the Mohawk. The four principals went overland to Fort Herkimer. There, they embarked. On the 8th day out, they reached old Fort Schuyler, (now Utica, N. Y.) they found the river nearly competent to inland navigation from Schenectady to Fort Stanwix, with the exception of Wolf-skrift, at German Flats, and Little Falls. From Fort Stanwix, the boats were carried two miles to Wood Creek, which flows toward Lake Ontario; there, Wood Creek is a mere brook, across which a man could easily jump. It is, however, an important creek, being the link connecting by waters, the immense regions beyond with the Hudson and the east. From Fort Stanwix, the party proceeded overland to Canada Creek, the boats by Wood Creek assisted by the water of a mill dam, yet with great difficulty, the windings are so sudden that the bow of the boat plowed the bank on one side, while the stern was rubbing the opposite shore. The men had to drag the boats, at some places; while at others all had to lie down to escape the limbs which overarched the stream. These difficulties, together with the sunken logs and trees, made progress very difficult and almost impossible.

On the 12th day, they arrived at the east end of the Oneida Lake; on the 13th day they met a boat loaded with hemp, raised at Cayuga, going toward the Mohawk river over this natural waterway. They descended by the Onondaga river to the junction of the Seneca river, which empties into Lake Ontario. The falls of that river are about 100 feet, they offer a serious difficulty to reach the lake, but that can be overcome, but at great expense.

They returned homeward, going up the Seneca river to the Salt Lake (now Syracuse), where 8,000 bushels of salt was then produced in one year. This shows how easily commerce could be diverted into the projected waterway to Albany and New York. They saw also that the commerce of the St. Lawrence river and the lakes could be diverted into this waterway when finished. They reached Cayuga Lake and then Seneca Lake, showing that the trade of the interior of the state, in that direction could be made to flow into the Hudson river. Here, the explorers dissolved—the expedition resulted in their advocating the construction of such a waterway upon their arrival home. They represented that “the map of the world” does not exhibit, in any other country, two lakes of equal magnitude to Seneca and Cayuga, so happily situated. They are each about 35 miles long and from two to four miles wide, stretching north and south and about 11 miles apart.

THE STATE INTERESTED.

Mr. Watson directed the attention of the public and of the legislature to the subject in various essays and memorials. These and the original journals were submitted to Gen. Philip Schuyler, who was at that time a member of the senate and wielded by his patriotic ardor and varied talents and political influence great power in the state in 1791; the state appropriated 100 pounds and ordered a survey by the land office at Fort Stanwix and Wood Creek, under the directions of three commissioners, Watson, Schuyler and Banyer.

The results were that in 1792 an act was passed, by which two companies were chartered; one for opening a lock navigation from the navigable waters of the Hudson, to be extended to the lakes Ontario and Seneca. The other from the Hudson to Lake Champlain. While the bill was struggling in its progress, Mr. Watson attended the legislature and with the greatest assiduity and zeal, sustained the efforts of Gen. Schuyler in promoting its success.

New difficulties presented themselves in obtaining the needed subscriptions; the illustrious Robert Morris of Philadelphia, became a subscriber. Gen. Schuyler, Mr. Watson and Thomas Eddy seem to have been the most active in furthering the enterprise. The public hesitated to supply the needed funds. The question was, "Shall it be made before the country through which it passes is settled, or shall the improvement precede the settlers?" One thousand shares of stock of \$25 each were issued by the Mohawk Company. Gen. Schuyler became president of the company. He and his associates exerted themselves to the utmost, yet with the limited means provided, the enterprise was completed from Oneida Lake in 1796 and boats carrying 16 tons were passing uninterruptedly. There were only six miles of canal altogether.

In 1796, Engineer Weston explored and planned a route for a canal connecting Seneca Lake with the Mohawk—it was speedily constructed. That, says Lossing, became the living germ of the Erie canal.

Improvement.—Consisted of a canal at Little Falls, 4,752 feet long, of which 2,550 feet went through solid rock. Upon it were five locks, with a total rise of 44½ feet.

NAMES BY WHICH LITTLE FALLS WAS KNOWN.

1. By the native Indians—Astenrogen ("Swift Water").
2. By the white navigators, in 1758, "Little Carrying Place."
3. By Gov. Moore of New York, in 1768, "Canajoharie Falls."
4. At present, Little Falls.

A canal 1½ miles long at Wolfs Rift, German Flatts; one at Rome 1½ miles long, connecting the Mohawk with Wood Creek. On Wood Creek, four locks were built. The success of the enterprise is best shown by the following letter :

SENECA FALLS, June 6, 1818.

DEAR SIR :—In pursuance of my promise, I now submit to you the following authentic statement of facts :

Previous to the construction of the canals and locks on the Mohawk river and Wood Creek, transportation was done in bateaus, from one to two tons burden. These required four hands to navigate them. The price of transport at that time, was from \$75 to \$100 per ton, from Schenectady to Seneca Falls, a distance of 212 miles.

Since the completion of the locks, boats of a different construction have been introduced, capable of carrying 15 to 16 tons and requiring but one additional hand to work them.

The charges for transportation have been greatly reduced, notwithstanding the high tolls charged on passing the locks and canals, viz., about \$4 on each boat and \$5 on each ton on cargo, being about \$17 per ton, from this to Schenectady and nearly that sum from thence here. Although these valuable improvements in the navigation of the Mohawk river and Wood Creek have been vastly beneficial to this part of the state, yet it is believed that proportionally greater advantages will yet result, on the completion of the middle section now constructing between the Seneca and Mohawk rivers. I think it may be safely estimated that the transportation will undergo a second reduction of 40 per cent. I am with great esteem, your sincere friend,

WILHELMUS MYNDERSE.

TO ELKANAH WATSON.

The Indians first navigated the Mohawk from Fort Stanwix to New York, in their bark canoes, and white people in flat boats, before any improvement was made.

The Inland Navigation Company of 1792, constitutes the first period of commercial highways of the Mohawk valley. It was the first step, which led to all that followed and as all experienced persons know the truth of the proverb "All beginnings are difficult."

The improved navigation, when completed, was looked upon as a wonderful achievement, and indeed it was, when compared with the condition of fifty years earlier.

The volume of business done cannot be stated, as no records could be found. Judge Wager of Rome, had recorded, that in 1812, 300 boats with 1,500 tons of merchandise passed through it at Rome, annually.

Historian "Munsell" states, that in 1796, one Albany firm received \$40,000 worth of furs, which came thereby, and business was then rapidly increasing. Freight rates, formerly \$100 per ton had been reduced to \$16. Boats with a cabin for carrying passengers had been introduced.

SECOND AND THIRD PERIOD.

The first led to the second period. The Mohawk turnpike, which was chartered in A. D. 1800—the first two improvements developed western New York and the states west of it. The amount of business called for and warranted the success of a grander and larger enterprise to be built by the state, namely, the Erie canal. That constitutes the third period.

BOATING ON THE MOHAWK.

The fourth period, that of railroads, is the present. An esteemed gentleman named Christian Schultz kept a journal while traveling on the Mohawk in 1807, which he describes as follows:

"I have noticed three different boats being used in navigating this river. Those called Schenectady boats are generally preferred and will carry about 10 tons burden when the river is high; but when it is low, as at this time, they take three to four.

They generally advance against the stream at the rate of 18 to 25 miles a day. These boats are built very much after the model of our Long Island round-bottom skiffs, but larger, being from 40 to 50 feet in length: are steered by a large swing oar of the same length. They have likewise a moveable mast in the middle. When the wind serves they set a square and top sail, which at a distance, gives them the appearance of a square-rigged vessel coming before the wind.

Our galley, which I am just now informed, is called the 'Mohawk Regula-

tor," has gone at the rate of six miles an hour against the stream, and during this time, believe me, nothing can be more charming than sailing on the Mohawk. It is not often that a fair wind will serve for more than three or four miles together, as the irregular course of the river renders its aid very precarious; their chief dependence, therefore, is upon their pike poles. These are 18 to 22 feet in length, having a sharp pointed iron, with a socket weighing 10 to 12 pounds affixed to the lower end; the upper had a large knob, called a button, mounted upon it, so that the poleman may press upon it his whole weight without endangering his person. This manner of impelling the boat forward is extremely laborious and none but those who have been for some time accustomed to it, can manage these poles with any kind of advantage. Within the boat, on each side, is a fixed plank running fore and aft, with a number of cross cleats nailed upon it for the purpose of giving the poleman a sure footing in hard polling.

The men, after setting their poles against a rock, bank or bottom of the river, inclining their heads very low, place the upper end of the button against the back (front)-part of their right or left shoulder, (according to the side on which they are poling) then falling down on their hands and toes, creep the whole length of the gang boards, and send the boat forward with considerable speed.

"The first sight of four men on each side of a boat, creeping along on their hands and toes, apparently transfixed by a large pole, is no small curiosity, nor was it until I had observed their perseverance for two or three hundred yards, that I became satisfied they were not playing some pranks.

"From the general practice of this method, as likewise from my own trials and observations, I am convinced that they have fallen upon the most powerful way possible to exert their bodily strength for the purpose required.

"I have met with another kind of boat on this river, which is called the Dorem

or Durham. The only difference is that it is built sharp at both ends and generally much larger and stouter. They also have flats, similar to those you have seen on the Susquehanna, but much lighter built and longer. On all these they occasionally carry sails before mentioned.

"The Mohawk is by no means dangerous to ascend, on account of the slowness of the boats progress, but as it is full of rocks, stones and shallows, there is some risk in descending it of staving the boat; and at this season it is so low as to require it to be dragged by hand in many places. The channel at some instances is not more than eight feet in width, which will barely permit a boat to pass by rubbing on both sides.

"This is sometimes caused by natural or accidental obstructions of rocks in the channel; but oftener by artificial means. This, which at first view would appear to be an inconvenience, is produced by two lines or ridges of stone constructed on sandy, gravelly, or stony shallows, in such a manner as to conduct the water to a point and deepen it where the boat must pass. The water being thus collected at the widest part of these ridges, and continually pent up within narrower limits as it descends, causes a rise of the passage; so that the depth of eight inches of water rises to twelve inches; and strange as it may appear, a boat drawing 15 inches will pass through it with ease and safety. The cause is simply this: The boat being somewhat below the passage is brought forward with considerable velocity and the moment it dashes into the passage, its resistance to the current is such as to cause a swell of 4 or 5 inches more, which affords it an easy passage over the shoal.

Old people yet relate that the should-ers of those who poled boats were coated with calculus, where the button of the pole rested while poling.

THE DURHAM BOAT.

The boat described above was first made at Durham, in Bucks county, Pennsylvania. Durham is on the Delaware river. These boats were made to carry flour to Philadelphia and return

with merchandise by navigating the Delaware. I think they could carry 50 barrels of flour. That river is deeper and larger and less difficult to navigate than the Mohawk.

RELICS AT CANAJOHARIE AND LITTLE FALLS

The people of Canajoharie yet possess a relic of the river navigation on the low land in front of the ruins of the Kane Bros. store on Round-Top on the east end of the village. There, a canal is yet visible, empty when the water is low; when the river overflows, it fills and boats could yet navigate to higher grounds near that store if the bushes and trees were removed, which have grown in the bed and sides of the channel.

A story connected with that store and those times was current, which illustrates why the Indian who toiled to obtain furs to carry to market, yet never obtained much for his labors.

An Indian came to that store one day with bundles of peltry. The skins were examined and a price for them agreed upon.

Rum was always among the things first purchased, for which a great price was charged. The Indian also required needles for his squaw and others. When he inquired the price it was one dollar for each. When he asked the reason for the high price, he was told that only one man in the whole world was able to drill the eye into a needle, he lately died, no more could be made—the price for needles would be higher yet.

In the old fort at Canajoharie, a tackle consisting of chains, pully and clasps, all made of iron, used by the river boatmen in loading and unloading barrels of flour and other freight, can yet be seen. The depression where the Wolf's Rift canal lock once existed can be yet seen, on the south bank of the river, north of Jacksonburg station on the West Shore railroad.

One of the many accidents to which river navigation was subject, occurred at Canajoharie about 1824—the Durham boat named Butterfly, in descending the river, then swollen, laden with flour,

potash and wheat, became unmanageable, swung round and struck its broad side against a pier of the Canjoharie bridge and broke near the center. The contents covered the surface of the river for some distance and three hands on the boat were drowned.

The rates of toll can be found in vol. 1 page 88, of "Simms Frontiers Men" In 1814, tolls for passing the locks at German Flatts and Little Falls:

For six handed bateau	\$2.31
" A scow	2.62
" What may be estimated as $\frac{1}{2}$ ton	1.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
" Flour per barrel	.22
" Wheat or grain per bushel	.04
" Salt per bushel	.22
" Plaster per ton	1.00
" All goods bound upward, per ton	2.25

The same rates were also paid for passing the locks at Rome. The toll on a barrel of flour carried a hundred miles was 52 cents. The commissioner's report of 1796 says, that the freight rate upward was \$32.00 per ton; downward, \$16 00 per ton. One of the six locks at Little Falls still exists. It is on the north side of the river close to the Central railroad tracks. It is now part of a mill race.

Mr. Watson's visit in 1818. When going by the packet boat on the route he helped to originate

"It was impossible for me to contemplate Syracuse, Salina and Liverpool, all thriving villages in the vicinity of Onondaga Lake, and devoted to the manufacture of salt, of which they produce per year nearly 1,000,000 bushels and not recur to my expedition by water twenty-nine years ago. What a transition? The country was then roamed over by savage tribes, no roads existed and there was not even a grist mill west of the German Flatts. Behold now, an intelligent population, fine turnpike roads, prosperous villages, large and beautiful towns, numerous stage coaches, elegant farm houses, highly cultured farms, matured orchards and above all, the Erie canal in active progression with 1,500 men at work on it's construction, within sixty miles of this place, and splendid packet boats now building to transport

passengers from Lake Erie to the Hudson "

SUMMARY.

Up to 1740 the early settlers used the largest sized Indian bark canoes on the Mohawk for transporting merchandise. They were light and capable of carrying considerable cargo. One or two men sitting in the bottom, propelled the little vessel by paddles or rifts or shallows, they waded, pushed and pulled it over. When water failed or the rapids could not be overcome, the cargo was unloaded and carried around the portage, when navigation was resumed. As there were many rifts and rapids in the Mohawk to be overcome, navigation at first was very difficult and dangerous.

NAVIGATION COMPANY.

In 1792, the Northern Inland Lock & Navigation Company was organized. It did not succeed and was abandoned for want of funds, it was followed in 1792 by the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, to connect the central lakes of New York with the Mohawk river at Schenectady. The entire cost reported by 1813 was \$480,000, of that amount the state furnished \$92,000.

In 1808, the company gave up its rights west of Oneida lake and sold out to the state in 1820 for \$152,718.50. These improvements opened not only a direct water communication from Schenectady to Lake Ontario and the River St. Lawrence, but permitted the use of larger boats for transporting merchandise, and also passengers in well constructed and furnished cabins. The stockholders received only seven dividends, mostly 3 to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Owing to the decay of the wooden locks and afterwards those built of brick, and the last those of stone only endured; but the rebuilding devoured the income. Upon surrendering their charter the stockholders received only two-thirds of their investment.

This was the first commercial highway made to develop the interior and unite it with the east. The development was great, but the public required lower prices for transport of merchandise and

a route open every day of the year. The boats could not run during the winter.

The first enterprise had run its course, it had also created the demand for the second, which was the turnpike; its business life lasted 23 years. The writer was unable to find any records, none now exist. The persons who promoted it have all passed away. It was a private company but it could not be operated in winter. The tolls were high—only valuable goods could be sent by it when in operation.

The new enterprise caused settlements along its route. Wagon roads were opened. A new factor appeared to compete as a carrier of freight. Heavy bodied canvass covered Pennsylvania wagons, drawn by four or five horses, made regular trips from Albany westward. By those, freight rates were greatly reduced and traffic continued during the winter. All those influences of the first were leading toward the second, which was the era of turnpikes.

The development which resulted of Elkanah Watson's trip to Fort Stanwix in 1788 have been traced. The truth of history requires the statement, that others before him, saw as he saw, viz.: the Colonial Governor Moore and Philip

Schuyler in 1768, Mr. C. Collins in 1772, Gen Washington in 1782, but no practical results followed until Mr. Watson and his enterprising associates put theory into practice.

The statements made in this paper were gathered from "Sweet's Documentary History of Canals of New York," Dr. Bagg's "Utica," from Simm's "Frontiersmen," Watson's "Men and Times," and other sources found in the Mohawk valley and in the state library at Albany.

If more can be found it will be added, if not, we here close this imperfect review of the first period of "Commercial Highways in the Mohawk Valley."

The motive why this paper was written, was because the first and second periods, embracing more than 45 years of early New York state history, is barely mentioned by authors; others do not even mention the matter. Those of later date who wrote our school histories have omitted the first and second periods entirely, when, in fact, the business developed by the preceding enterprises created the demand for the grand enterprise, the Erie canal, and made it a success from the start and the crown of glory of this state during about 50 years.

TWO PROMINENT CITIZENS OF HERKIMER COUNTY,

Who, Nearly One Hundred Years Ago, Played an Important Part
in the Politics of this State.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, May 11, 1897.

GAYLORD GRISWOLD.

After the revolutionary war, and particularly after the adoption of the federal constitution, emigrants from the New England states began to pour into the central and western part of this state in large numbers. Enterprising young men came into these regions to make their fortunes, as later the same class of men went to Ohio, Michigan and other western states. They were intrepid, wideawake, hardy and intelligent, and soon built up prosperous communities. They came in wagons drawn by horses or oxen, and sometimes men and women came on horseback, occasionally a man and his wife riding the same horse, she upon a pillion behind him. Among the early immigrants to this region was Gaylord Griswold. He came from Windsor, Connecticut, at the age of about twenty-four years, and first went to Whitestown, passing through this place. He was highly educated, and had been admitted to the bar before leaving his home. As I learn from a diary kept by him which is now before me, he left Windsor August 12th, 1792. On his way he stopped here two days; and while here argued a case before arbitrators. He reached Whitestown on

the 21st of August at two o'clock p. m. He must have been a festive, attractive young man for in one hour from that time he went out into the country about three miles with a party of gentleman and ladies and spent the afternoon feasting on watermelons. The second day after he reached Whitestown, he made a trip into what is now the town of Steuben, to the tract of land granted by this state to Baron Steuben in recognition of his services in the revolutionary war; and there he feasted on trout and pheasants. He must have seen Baron Steuben as then, or soon afterward he purchased some land of him. On the following Sunday he attended a religious meeting in Whitestown in Judge White's barn; and the next day he attended a dance at Colonel White's with a company of gentlemen and ladies of "all sorts and sizes" as he describes them. He records that the music was poor but that he had a "very merry evening." On the 13th of September he again attended a dance at Colonel White's, spent "a very agreeable evening, had a good supper and plenty of good wine." Those Whitestown people, most of whom had come from New England, had evidently cast out some of their puritanical notions

and were disposed to make the most of the good things of this world. He records that September 14th was the day of the general training, and that all was confusion, and that "people from German Flatts arrived in the rain"; and he did not fail to notice the fact that "Miss Morgan and Miss Gale accompanied them." On the 21st of September he came to this village, which was then called the German Flatts, and as recorded by him "argued a cause before a jury for Mr. John Hicks, obtained a verdict, jury composed of half Dutch and half English" for which he received forty-eight shilling and nine pence. He evidently came here to settle. He was probably the first and only lawyer residing here at that time as he received a retainer on the very day he came here. On the 22nd day of October, he commenced to board with Judge Myers. Whether this was Judge Michael Myers or Judge John Meyer, cannot now be known as both were called Judge. He soon entered upon what was for that day a lucrative law business; and I find from his entries in an account kept by him that he soon had occasion to visit Johnstown and Cooperstown on professional business. Within about a month he was engaged in two actions for slander, in each of which the sum of five hundred pounds was claimed as damages, and he had retainers in other causes. Slander suits in those early years and down to the middle of this century, and even some years later were much more common than now. Other lawyers came here. But to the time of his death he continued to be the ablest lawyer in this county. Sometime before the close of the last century he returned to Connecticut and married Miss Mary Hooker and brought her here. He built a house on the lot now occupied by the Episcopal church, which before the erection of the church was removed to the lot on Main street now occupied by Captain Horatio P. Witherstine. His young wife must have found here genteel society which has scarcely been surpassed in this village since. Here were Matthias B

Tallmadge and his wife, a daughter of Governor George Clinton afterward vice president of the United States; the families of General Michael Myers, of Simeon Ford, Joab Griswold, Elihu Griswold, David Holt, Philo M. Hackley, Abijah Tombling, Walter Fish, Sandford Clark, all people of refinement and more culture than was common in those days. The gossip of the whole world was not then, as now, served up in daily newspapers. The men were intensely interested in politics, and more than now they discussed theories of government and the blessings of civil liberty. The ladies generally did not have more than one silk gown, and they heard little about the Paris fashions and did not talk of the latest novel. They brought their knitting to the social gatherings and Mrs. Tallmadge could entertain them somewhat with stories of the high life she had seen at Albany and New York and in the great families upon the Hudson river. While the lives they led would not satisfy the ambition of a typical *fin de siecle* woman, yet they found agreeable occupation in the discharge of their household duties, and sufficient diversion in their simple, robust and hearty amusements.

Mr. Griswold was an active federalist in his politics. In 1797 and 1798 he was member of assembly from this county, and in 1802 he was elected to congress from the fifteenth congressional district, composed of the counties of Herkimer, Oneida and St. Lawrence. His talents gave him a conspicuous position among the federalists of the house of representatives, and he took an active and prominent part in the debates between them and their republican opponents.

Prior to 1802, under the federal constitution, the presidential electors were required to vote for two persons for president and vice president without designating which of them was to be president and which vice president; and the person receiving the greatest number of votes was to be president and the person receiving the next highest number was to be vice president provided they received a majority of all the votes cast. If each of the persons thus voted

for received an equal number of votes, then the election devolved upon the house of representatives. There the members voted by states and the person receiving the votes of the greatest number of states became president and the person receiving the vote of the next highest number of states became vice president. At the election of 1800 Jefferson and Burr were the republican candidates. Among the voters it was understood that Jefferson was running for president and Burr for vice president. The result of the election was that each received the same number of electoral votes and hence there was no election, and it devolved upon the house of representatives to choose the president and vice president. There was a long struggle in the house, Burr seeking to be chosen president; and the stability of our government was brought into great peril. The federalists generally voted for Burr, and he came near to being chosen president. That calamity was escaped by the refusal of a few federalists under the lead of Alexander Hamilton finally to vote for him; and in the end Jefferson, by the votes of the representatives of a majority of the states, was chosen president and Burr vice-president. Then, to avoid such a dilemma in the future, a movement was inaugurated to amend the constitution as it now is, so that the presidential electors should designate on their ballots the candidates for president and vice-president; and in 1803 a resolution proposing the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution was carried through congress. The resolution led to a great and exciting debate in congress in which Mr. Griswold took a leading part on the side of the federalists. The proceedings and the substance of Mr. Griswold's speeches will be found in volume three of McMaster's History of the People of the United States, at pages 184, etc.

In consequence of his intrigues with the federalists in 1801, Burr became out of favor with the republicans; and in 1804 when he sought the nomination for governor of this state, they generally refused to support him and they nominat-

ed Morgan Lewis for governor. Burr sought federal support and the leading federalists, in opposition to the views of Hamilton, resolved to support him. Griswold, then a member of congress, wrote a letter urging the federalists to support Burr, as the only means of breaking down the republican party, and he charged the opposition of Hamilton to Burr to "personal resentment." The result shows that the republican party gained as many federalists as Burr did republicans and Lewis was elected governor. It was Hamilton's opposition to Burr that, in July 1804, led to the dual between them which resulted in the death of Hamilton and deprived this country of one of its greatest statesmen. The letter of Griswold was, subsequently, in 1807, made public, in the form of a handbill, for the purpose of damaging the leading federalists. The political animosities of those days have never been equalled since, and we may congratulate ourselves that we live in times when differences in political views so rarely interrupt friendly relations.

After returning from congress, Griswold continued to practice his profession here with great success until his death in 1809, at the age of forty-on years. He left a widow who survived him many years, and several children; Hooker Griswold, a merchant here, Gaylord Griswold, also a merchant here for many years, Sarah Brooks, the wife of Benjamin F. Brooks, whose grandson, Benjamin F. Brooks, lives in this village, Hannah Burrill, wife of Jacob Burrill, the mother of Griswold Burrill of this village. His early death terminated a career full of promise.

MATTHIAS B. TALLMADGE.

After political parties were formed in this state, in the latter part of the last century and early in this, it was common for the politicians in Albany and the eastern part of the state, like the Clintons and Livingstons and their associates, who dominated parties and shaped party politics, to send out young men of culture and talent into the growing central and western parts of the state to shape public sentiment and to lead in

political conflicts. They were generally young lawyers, and they were fostered by offices conferred upon them by the council of appointment, and by patronage received or placed at their disposal. The same policy was later pursued to some extent by the famous Albany Regency; and those labor under a great mistake who suppose that the politicians of the early days of our republic were less crafty, less artful, or less resourceful than their successors of this day.

In pursuance of this policy, Matthias B. Tallmadge came into this county in the year 1800, and took up his residence in this village. He built and resided in the house on Main street now owned by Dr. Burgess. That house and lot whereon it stands were then and for many years afterward the finest in the village. He was born in Dutchess county in 1774. He graduated from Yale College, and studied law with Chief Justice Ambrose Spencer at Hudson. Before coming here he married the daughter of Governor George Clinton and here he commenced the practice of the law. Mr. Benton, in his history of Herkimer county speaks of him as follows: "Mr. Tallmadge was, no doubt, sent into the county as a political leader, and by this movement Governor Clinton extended his family influence to an important point in the state, then fast filling up with population from the older southern and eastern counties, and from the other states, particularly New England. It is not improbable that Evans Wharry, a native of Orange county, well known to, and a fast friend of Governor Clinton, was mainly instrumental in bringing Mr. Tallmadge into the county. Mr. Tallmadge's contemporaries do not speak of him in terms of extravagant praise. He was not equal in point of talents and energy of character to any of his opponents. But the soil was congenial to his touch, and the harvest ripened to his hand, and such was the veneration and respect for the name of George Clinton in the Mohawk valley, and so deep seated was the anti-federal feeling in the county, strengthened and

embittered by some of the acts of the federal government under the administration of John Adams, and particularly the stamp act, that it only remained to select the candidates, print and circulate the ballots, and the election from that moment became a 'fixed fact' so far as this county was concerned."

In 1801, with Evans Wharry and George Rosecrants he was a member from this county of the convention called to revise the constitution of the state. In April, 1802, he was elected state senator. The state was then divided into four senatorial districts, the southern, eastern, middle and western. He was one of the eleven senators from the western district, which comprised all the state west of Schenectady, including Jefferson and St. Lawrence. The term of a senator was then four years. While he was not a man of great talent, his connection with the Clintons gave him prominence and influence as a senator. While he was in the senate, in the winter of 1803, an exciting contest took place for United States senator, to succeed Gouverneur Morris, whose term of service would expire March 4, 1803. There were then two political parties, federal and republican and he belonged to the latter. The candidates for the office in the republican caucus were General Thodore Bailey of Dutchess county, brother-in-law of Tallmadge, and John Woodworth of Rensselaer county, who was afterward attorney general of the state and one of the justices of the supreme court. Bailey received thirty votes and Woodworth forty five and the latter was declared nominated. Tallmadge attended the republican caucus and supported Bailey. He was dissatisfied with the result of the caucus and immediately started a movement to defeat Mr. Woodworth's election. He persuaded a few republicans to co operate with him and by a union with some of the federalists they secured the election of Bailey. The result justly aroused much feeling against Tallmadge and he was greatly censured for not abiding by the action of the caucus in which he was a participant.

Some account of this election is given in Hammond's Political History, volume 1, page 191.

In 1777 John Sloss Hobart, although he had not been bred to the law, was appointed one of the justices of the supreme court, and held the office until January 1798, more than twenty years, when he was elected United States senator, to succeed General Phillip Schuyler. In April of the same year, he was appointed by President Adams United States District Judge for the District of New York and resigned his office of United States senator. He held the office of judge untill 1805, when he died. So far as I know he is the only person holding high judicial position in this state who was not a lawyer and admitted to the bar when elevated to the bench. After his death Mr. Tallmadge, through the influence of his father-in-law, then vice-president, was appointed by President Jefferson, U. S. district judge in place of Judge Hobart. He held the office until his death in 1819. He is said not to have been well qualified for the office, and drew his salary for many years while rendering but little service. He removed from this county, after his

appointment to the office of judge, to the city of New York.

Mr. Bailey, who through the influence of Mr. Tallmadge was made United States senator, resigned his office the next year and accepted the office of postmaster of the city of New York which he held until his death in 1828, about 24 years. During many years after the adoption of the federal constitution the office of United States senator was not so highly esteemed as now, for we find Hobart resigning it to take the office of United States judge and Bailey to take the office of postmaster of New York; and in the early history of our government there are other instances of the same kind. DeWitt Clinton resigned the office of United States senator to take from the council of appointment the office of mayor of the city of New York.

Mr. Tallmadge was for a time an important factor in state politics. He cannot be said to have made any mark upon the history of our county. The house he built remains; but so far as I know there is no record of any creditable work he did.

ORGANIC HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE OF HERKIMER.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, June 8, 1897.

Prior to the formation of our state government, there were but two cities in this state, Albany and New York, the two oldest chartered cities in the United States. Prior to 1807, but two more cities were incorporated, Hudson in 1785 and Schenectady in 1798. Neither of these cities, so far as I can find, ever had a village charter.

The first villages incorporated in this state, so far as I can learn, were Troy and Lansingburg incorporated by the same act of the legislature, February 16, 1798. Poughkeepsie was incorporated March 27, 1799; Newburg, March 25, 1800; Salem, Washington county, April 4, 1803; Colonie, Albany county, April 9, 1804; Athens, April 2, 1805; Kingston, April 6, 1805; Utica, April 9, 1805; Ballston, March 21, 1807 and Herkimer, April 6, 1807.

The inhabitants of the Stone Ridge had increased in number, and among them were a goodly number of intelligent, enterprising men, like Gaylord Griswold, lawyer and member of congress; General Michael Myers and his two sons, Mathew and Peter M., the former a graduate of Union College, and the latter county clerk; Aaron Hackley, member of assembly, county clerk, district attorney and member of congress; Dan Chapman, merchant, lawyer, surrogate; Joab Griswold, county clerk; Elihu Griswold, county clerk; Philo M. Hackley, surro-

gate and member of assembly; Henry Hopkins, sheriff; Ephraim Snow, sheriff; Chauncey Woodruff, sheriff; Simeon Ford, member of assembly and district attorney; Jacob G. Weaver, merchant and Indian trader; and other men of strong sense and good judgment. They dominated the politics of the county and appropriated most of the offices. They evidently felt the necessity of a village corporation, to enable them to make their locality convenient, orderly, peaceful, safe and beautiful, and thus to realize their ideals of life. They were among the earliest to apply for a village charter, as only ten villages in the whole state were incorporated before this; and this was, with the exception of Utica, the first incorporated village in the state west of Schenectady.

The territory first included within the corporation of Herkimer was not so large as that now included. It embraced all the land granted by patent to Gertrude Petrie, and a small portion north of that and now lying north of German street. It did not extend to the Mohawk river or the West Canada creek, and was mainly confined to the Stone Ridge.

The village was incorporated under the name of "The Trustees of the Village of Herkimer"; and all the adult male residents who possessed within the village a free-hold of the value of fifty

dollars, or rented a tenement of the yearly value of five dollars for the term of one year, were authorized to meet on the second Monday of May then next, and choose five free-holders, residents of the village, to be trustees, with the powers and rights specified in the act; and trustees were to be elected on the second Monday of May in each succeeding year. The free-holders and inhabitants authorized to vote could at any annual or special meeting make rules, orders and regulations relative to cleaning and keeping in order and repair, the streets, and removing nuisances; and also to compel the housekeepers to furnish themselves with a sufficient number of fire buckets, house ladders and with other necessary tools and implements for extinguishing fires; and to impose penalties on the offenders against such rules, orders and regulations, not exceeding five dollars for any one offense. The trustees were authorized to appoint a clerk, and also not exceeding fifteen firemen, and to make rules for their government; and the freeholders and inhabitants being lawful voters were authorized at any regular meeting to determine what sum in the aggregate should be raised, levied and collected from the owners or occupants of houses and land for procuring a fire engine and other implements for extinguishing fires, and for supplying the village with water and erecting and constructing a sufficient number of common reservoirs for containing a sufficiency of water for extinguishing fires. The trustees were empowered by their warrant to appoint and to authorize some person to collect the taxes thus imposed. But the sum to be raised in any one year could not exceed two hundred dollars. The trustees were empowered to lay out the money thus raised, to purchase a fire engine and other tools and implements for extinguishing fire, and also in supplying the village with water from aqueducts or otherwise, and also to purchase and hold any lands or streams of water necessary for fire purposes, and for such purposes also to construct a sufficient number of reservoirs to be supplied from the aqueducts or other-

wise, and to rent the surplus water not needed for supplying the reservoirs to such persons and for such sums and in such manner as they should deem proper; and the money arising from renting the surplus water was to be for the use and benefit of the freeholders and inhabitants of the village to be expended in keeping the aqueduct in repair, and in procuring necessary tools and implements for extinguishing fires. The trustees and the clerk were to receive such compensation as the legal voters should think reasonable.

It must be observed that the powers of the inhabitants and trustees were very limited; that there was a property qualification for the voters at all village elections and meetings, as there was at that time for the voters at all other elections of public officers; that the trustees were required to be freeholders; that no officers were to be elected but the five trustees, and the only persons that they could appoint to any office were the clerk, collector and firemen. There was no president, no treasurer and no police officers and there were no assessors as the trustees were to act as such. There was no provision for raising any money by taxation except for fire purposes; and hence, although the trustees and clerk might have compensation, there was no way of getting any money to pay them except the penalties for violations of the village ordinances. Personal property was not liable to taxation for village purposes; and as only two hundred dollars could be raised in any year, there was little temptation or room for speculation or extravagance. It is probable that the men of that day had already conceived the scheme of bringing water into the village from the West Canada creek, to be used for manufacturing purposes, for it was not practicable to bring water here in an aqueduct except from that source; and there was no purpose for which the rented water could be used except for manufacturing. The bringing in of the water was to be a village enterprise and not private as it subsequently became.

While Herkimer was incorporated on

the 9th of April 1807 it is probable that the people of the village did not get information of their incorporation in time to hold the election of trustees on the second Monday of May following; and hence we find in an act passed just one year later, entitled "An act for the incorporation of the village of Oxford and for other purposes," a final section reviving the act of 1807, and declaring it to be in force, and authorizing the election of the five trustees on the second Monday of May as in the prior act provided. There was apparently again a failure to hold the annual meeting and to elect the trustees in 1820, and hence on the 13th day of April 1821, another act was passed reviving and re-enacting the act of 1807, and continuing it in force, and authorizing the election on the second Monday in May of five trustees. The inhabitants had not yet learned vigilance, and again in 1824 they failed to hold their annual meeting and to elect trustees, and on April 13, 1825, another act of revival similar to that of 1821 was passed; and to prevent the necessity of such legislation in the future, it was provided in the act that if the inhabitants failed in any year to hold the annual meeting and election, the trustees in office should continue until their successors should be elected; and thereafter there does not seem to have been any further question about the continued existence of the village corporation. On the 12th of March 1818 an act relating to the village of Herkimer was passed which authorized the free holders and inhabitants, at the annual or a special meeting, properly called, to make rules, orders and regulations for the prevention and removal of nuisances, the prevention of fires, explosion of powder and discharge of fire arms except by the militia or regular soldiers, and in relation to the racing of horses and the running at large and straying of horses and cattle in the streets, and also authorizing an increase in the number of firemen.

Except as I have now specified I have found no other special legislation in reference to this village until April 20,

1832, when the act "To consolidate and amend the charter of the village of Herkimer" was passed. The act enlarged the territory of the village to substantially its present size, and gave the corporation the powers now usually possessed by such villages. The right to vote at village elections was limited to inhabitants who had during the prior year paid a road or other public tax. The officers to be elected were president, four trustees, three assessors, a clerk, a treasurer, a collector and a constable; and the inhabitants could at any regular meeting, vote to raise by tax not exceeding the sum of five hundred dollars in any one year.

There were amendments to the village charter in 1840 and 1851 which were not of sufficient importance to require notice here. In 1853 Charles A. Burton, a talented young lawyer residing here and I were appointed to draft a new charter, and we drafted one which was enacted by the legislature in 1854. Under that amended charter the voters were still required to be taxpayers. The trustees could raise by taxation the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars for the ordinary expenses of the village in each year, and an additional sum not exceeding three hundred and fifty dollars when authorized by a vote of the taxpayers of the village. Besides a property tax for highway purposes, there was a poll tax of fifty cents upon every male inhabitant of the village. By an amendment of the charter in 1859, the maintenance and repair of all the bridges in the village were put upon the town. In 1860 the police constable was required to be appointed by the trustees. In 1863 the trustees were authorized to license cabs, carriages and other vehicles carrying passengers to and from the railroad. In 1868 the trustees were authorized, on a vote of the taxpayers, to borrow, by issuing bonds, \$15,000, to bring water into the village for fire purposes. In 1869 the trustees were authorized to raise by taxation in any year, to defray the ordinary expenses of the village, \$750 and such additional sum as the taxpayers should at any annual meeting sanction. In 1872

the village was authorized to improve the road between this place and Middleville, and for that purpose the trustees were empowered to issue bonds for \$15,000, upon a petition of a majority of the taxpayers, the money thus raised to be expended by three commissioners to be appointed by the trustees. In 1874 "The Herkimer and Middleville stone road" was incorporated, with Dean Burgess, Peter Countryman, Samuel Earl, Henry D. Ellison and Bela Palmer as directors, who were authorized to take tolls, and with the money thus realized to keep the road between the two places in repair. In 1874 an act was passed authorizing the election of three cemetery commissioners by the owners of lots in the cemetery, and in 1880 that act was amended. In 1885 the act incorporating the Herkimer and Middleville stone road was repealed. In 1887 the board of police and fire commissioners was established. In 1891 the board of light and water commissioners was established, and in 1895, the municipal commission, consisting of four commissioners belonging to the two political parties was established. It superseded the prior commissions and has charge of police and fire matters and the village lights, water and sewers.

Down to the year 1875 the village was under its special charter. In that year, by the mistaken action of its inhabitants,

at a special election held April 29th, by a vote of 270 to 34, it lost its special charter, was reorganized and placed under the general village law, and by that law it is now governed.

It is seen how small the amount of money authorized to be expended for village purposes was until recently. The amount raised by taxation for village purposes and village expenses for the year 1896 was \$27,133.50, and the population is about 5,000.

The other villages in the county were organized in the following years: Little Falls, then in the town of Herkimer, 1811; Mohawk, 1844; Lion, 1852; Newport, 1857; Frankfort, 1863; Middleville, 1890.

Such is briefly the organic history of the village of Herkimer. It is a history of growth and evolution. Through it all we catch glimpses of the enterprise, civic virtues, manners and customs of its people. We who live here must be permitted to say that it is one of the pleasantest, most enterprising and most orderly villages in the State. It excels in both religion and politics, particularly the latter. May the chronicler who writes our history in the next century be able to write of a community equally prosperous, and of its citizens, in public and private life, equally useful and honorable.

ANDREW FINCK, MAJOR IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WARS.

AN ADDRESS BY JOHN B. KOETTERITZ, OF LITTLE FALLS,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, June 8, 1897.

On the first gentle rise of hills from the flats of the Mohawk River, where it leaves its rocky gorge east of the city of Little Falls and broadens into the rich Manheim River bottom lands north of the turnpike and of the New York Central Railroad, and nearly opposite the spot where General Herkimer's Monument marks the final resting place of that citizen-soldier, lies a small private burying ground known as the Finck-Van Valkenburgh cemetery. Near the west end of it stands a simple marble slab containing this inscription :

In memory of
ANDREW FINCK,
Major in the Revolutionary Wars,
Who died February 3rd, 1820,
Age 69 years, 3 days.

Benton, in his History of Herkimer County, speaks briefly of the continuous and valuable services of Finck during the whole of the Revolutionary War, and states that nearly all the papers relating to his military and public life had become scattered and could not be found and that consequently the account of his life had to be brief and incomplete. The various histories of Montgomery County, of which Finck was a citizen for sixty-six years, contain only meagre reference to his service as Member of Assembly.

It is one of the objects of our Society to preserve the memory of our brave and illustrious citizens, of those who have been leaders in war, in the political arena, in commerce, science and law. Pride in local history is the foundation of true patriotism; love for the hearthstone, the family house and ancestors makes good citizens. If Major Finck has been somewhat neglected by historians, and my modest effort shall do him and his ancestors justice, I, as a German-born citizen, shall feel especially grateful. With the kind and able assistance of one of Major Finck's great grandsons, and by making personally exhaustive searches through the Colonial and Revolutionary records in the State Departments, in church registers, County Clerks' offices and elsewhere, I have been able to gather the facts for the following sketch.

It is said that the Finck family came over with the second and large Palatine emmigration of 1710.

The Reverend Joshua Kockerthal, aided by the English Queen, led his small flock of Palatines, singing hymns and psalms, their small belongings in bundles, poor, destitute and illiterate, from their homes in the Palatinate, whence they had been driven by religious perse-

cution, to London and thence to America. They were the forerunners, and all being from the German Palatinate, the name "Palatines" became a generic term for those forming the large second and third immigrations, although, only a part of those composing these latter immigrations were original Palatines, the rest coming from all the different Principalities of Southwestern Germany, Alsace and the Netherlands. Desolated by the War of Thirty Years—the cruel effects of which can yet be traced in some parts of Germany—again ravaged by the war in the time of Louis the XIVth, who made religion a pretext for his wrongs, notably in 1674, when a French army, under the cruel Turenne, marked its progress by such acts of destruction, pillage and murder as have hardly a parallel in the history of the world; again reduced to ashes and ruin by the dauphin, after a few years of peace, the Palatinate had become a dismal desert and its once proud and happy people wretched and hopeless beyond the power of words to describe. Thousands had to seek homes elsewhere, homeless, destitute and objects of charity. Finally the English Queen came to their help, and provided for their maintenance in London and their passage to this country. The character of this immigration was, as Kapp says, humbleness, despair and silent suffering, and about all they brought over were their bodies emaciated by want. The once prosperous inhabitants had become paupers and wanderers on the face of the earth. Is it a wonder that we find so many of the early German immigrants illiterate and ignorant? They had no homes to sleep in, no bread to eat but that of pity, no schools to send their children to, and no hope in aught save God. We must consider these facts fully, and when you, descendants of these German pioneers, read now of the cruelties to which the Armenians are subjected, you can find the reason why your ancestors had fallen into the state of ignorance, illiteracy and destitution in which they had existed for more than twenty years before they came to this country. These facts also

explain why so few of our Palatine families are able to trace their original home and connect their ancestors with the original stock. Families had become scattered. Not only homes, but towns and villages, including the churches and all records, had been destroyed long before the immigrations to this country, and many villages and hamlets have never been rebuilt. Only nameless ruins indicate the places where once your families had their homes.

The fate of the immigrants in their early days here was hardly better than their experience at home—hoping to settle on lands of their own and become a free people, they found themselves reduced to a state of semi-slavery, and it was not until they disobeyed the orders of the Colonial Governor, and moved into the Scholharie Valley, that any improvement in their condition began.

The first mention of the name of Finck occurs among the volunteers of Colonel Nicholson's expedition to Canada in 1711, when one Frantz Finck from Queensbury, is mentioned. While I have not seen the original documents, I have been informed that the name "Andreas" might be just as easily made out of the name as "Frantz."

Tradition in Stone Arabia claims that nearly all the original settlers of that patent came over in 1710, and that the Loucks, Finck and Eaker families came from near Itstein, of that part of Germany which was later part of the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Nassau and which now belongs to the Kingdom of Prussia. The frequent intermarriages between these three families make this story probable. A number of Palatine families had settled along the Mohawk River prior to the settling of the Stone Arabia patent, attracted undoubtedly by the other German and Swiss settlers who had located there prior to the coming of the Palatines.

On March 7, 1722, John Christian Gerlach, Wm. York, Johann Lawyer Johann and Hendrick Schuffer, Andreas Finck, Hendrick Frey and Godfrey DeWulven petitioned for a tract of meadow and wood land in the Mohacks

Country, between the Cayadutta and Canada Kill, and on March 8th, Rip Van Dam, Chairman of the Committee of Council, makes his report. The next day a warrant for a survey was issued, and on November 1, of the same year, John Christian Gerlach, in behalf of himself and other distressed Palatines, petitions for a license to purchase the same tract, which was granted the following day. On February 12th, 1723, the same parties obtained a deed from the Canajoharie Indians and finally, on the 19th of October, 1723, the patent was granted to twenty-seven patentees, amongst whom we find Andreas Finck and Christian Feinck. Christian Feinck was a brother of Andreas, and as I do not find any evidence of his settling at Stone Arabia, it may be assumed that he remained in Schoharie, or died before the Stone Arabia patent was occupied by the patentees.

The allotment maps of the patent are lost, and it is impossible to trace the original location of Andreas Finck's homestead. A branch of the Kanagara Creek, which runs east of Sprakers into the Mohawk, is still called "Finck's Creek," and between that creek and where the churches are located, local tradition places the new home of the Fincks. From the fact that Andreas Finck was one of the original petitioners for, and patentees of the land, it may be assumed that he enjoyed privileges in selecting his own share, and that his land would be in the very center of the new settlement and of fine quality.

Andreas Finck was married before he came to Stone Arabia; his wife was Margaret Acker, and their marriage had taken place at Schoharie. How many children he had cannot be ascertained as no church records for those early days can be found.

The elder Wilhelm Finck, who married in 1753 Margaret Snell, was one of his sons, and Lieutenant Johannes Finck, in Col. Jacob Klock's regiment, was his grandson, and the wife of Captain Andrew Dillenbeck, who was killed at Oriskany, was his granddaughter. His eldest son, judging by the custom of

the Palatines of christening the oldest male child by the father's name, was Andreas, who was born on September 1st, 1721, before the removal to Stone Arabia. This is the Andrew Finck, Jr., who, according to Simms, appears on early maps as an owner of land. While we cannot ascertain the age of the patentee Andreas, it is certain that he lived until after 1744, when his name appears for the last time on a public record, and that he died before 1751, when the second Andreas settled on Michael Frank, his stepfather, a life lease of one half of Lot 19. No record of the death of the wife of the elder Andreas can be found.

The new settlement prospered, the lands were well adapted for the raising of wheat, for which there was an ever ready market in the east, the people were frugal, industrious and extremely saving. They provided themselves with none of the comforts of life, married early, raised large families and died old. Until 1729 the people considered themselves as members of the Schoharie church. Then some of their leading men, amongst them Andreas Finck, the patentee, bought of Wm. Coppernoll, of Schenectady, a glebe for church purposes of fifty acres. The original contract is still in possession of the Finck family and reads as follows

Memorandum of agreement between William Coppernoll and Andreas Feink, Henerick Frey, Hans Diterirk Cassleman, John Yorg Miller and all the rest of the company of this said patent the said William Coppernoll hath sold to the above said Andreas Feink, Henerick Frey and all of rest the foresaid company, a certain lot of land number in our patent number twenty for a cheicht and other use for the same and no others and the said William Coppernoll is therefore paid and satisfieit and the said William Coppernoll binds himself his heirs and assigns in the sume of one hundred pounds good lawful money of Newyer to give a good lawful transport for the above said lot of land number twenty att or before the ninth day of April one thousand seven hundred and

thirty one as witens my hand and seale
this second day of June anno: D 1729.
Sealed and delivered
in the presence of

his
WILLIAM X COPERNOLL
mark

The original deed given by Copernoll is also still in existence and was executed May 9th, 1732, and conveyed the same property to Andreas Finck and others. Finally, in 1744, the land was divided between the Calvinists and the Lutherans, deeds were given and taken, on which still appears the name of the elder Andreas, who was also one of the charter members of Reformed Church and was instrumental in the erection of the church in 1744, as shown by bonds and contracts still existing. With the establishment of the churches the intimate connection which existed between the mother settlement at Schoharie and the new ones at Stone Arabia and the German Flats became gradually severed—the holding of the lands became more stationary and the shifting forth and back between the new and the old locations ceased. Stone Arabia became the central place for all the Germans in the Mohawk Valley—its citizens were the most prosperous and the poor "distressed Palatines of 1723" had become comfortably well off twenty years later. It must have been a life of toil and privation which those people led, only occasionally broken by family feasts and holidays, which were celebrated with eating, drinking and dancing in their native fashion. Such a day of feast was likely the 14th day of December, 1742, when the second Andreas married Catherine Elizabeth Loucks, daughter of Hendrick Loucks and sister of Adam Loucks, the Colonial Justice and the noted local leader during the Revolution. The Loucks family were not among the original patentees of the Stone Arabia patent, but they and the Eakers came over soon after the first settlement was made. Catherine E. Loucks was born on the 10th of March, 1720, at Skorrie (Schoharie). Six children were the result of this marriage. Anna Margaret (born 1746), who married

Judge and Lieutenant Jacob Eicker; Major Andrew (born 1751); John Jost (1753), who was a private in Van Cortlands and Klock's regiments during the Revolution; Christian (born 1759), who served under Col. Klock and the Levies; Maria Magdalena, who married Captain Nicholas Coppernoll, and Catherine, who married Captain John Sealey, who had charge of Fort Keyser during the battle of Stone Arabia. Of the second Andreas little is known—grown up during those years of hardest pioneer life, he could have but little education, as there are papers in existence which he signed by making his mark. It is said that he took active part during the French-Indian War, and there served as Captain under Sir William Johnson. While I do not find his name as occupying such a position on the few existing records in regard to the Mohawk Militia under Sir William Johnson, an officer's sword, said to be worn by him during that war, was preserved for many years in the family of his son Christian, which sword bore his name and rank of Captain. During the War of the Revolution, although then over 54 years old, he served in Col. Jacob Klock's regiment. I have not been able to ascertain how long he served. He brought up his children in the Reformed Church, and we find the family well represented in the church records.

In the year 1786, a few days before his death, he makes his will, by which he provides for his widow and devises to his three sons 700 acres of farm and wood land and to his three girls and three boys 600 acres more, also money and valuables, and leaves the residue of his estate and "his small arm or fowling piece" to his grandson, Andrew C., then a small boy. He kept slaves, and leaves one negro wench, Anna, to Catherine Sealey, and Anna's prospective issue to Mary Coppernoll. From his will it appears that his homestead was nearly opposite the churches, and extended west to the creek—on which a mill was operated. He died on the 22d day of August, 1786, nearly 65 years old, and was followed on the 31st day of March,

1790, by his wife, a little over 70 years old. Their gravestones stand in the Stone Arabia Cemetery, and are the oldest stones in that ground. They are a few feet from the grave of Colonel Brown, who fell at the battle of Stone Arabia.

Of the youth of Andrew Finck, the later Major, we know little. From general information about the condition of affairs at Stone Arabia, it is evident that these people were, during the years of his youth, in that transitory state between the crude life of the pioneer and the advancing of civilization and learning. School teachers were sometimes employed, and children obtained some instruction. Many of the families sent their children away to school, and it is probable that young Andrew thus obtained his education. There is a tradition in some branches of the Finck family that an English Captain, DuBois, who was drilling the militia companies organized by Sir William Johnson, noticed, while at Stone Arabia, a young lad who was repeating with great precision the motions of the drill. Finding him a handsome and bright boy, he took great liking to him and offered to his parents to provide for his education. The parents consenting, he took young Andrew to New York and kept him there for years. While all the children of the second Andreas were publicly admitted to the church (confirmed), as shown by the church register, young Andrew's name does not appear, nor as a witness to any christening, and he must have been absent from home for a long period of years. Part of the original minutes of the Committee of Safety are in his handwriting and evidently of his composition, and they and letters written by him show him to have been a man of superior and unusual education, considering the general state of instruction among the Palatines. Family tradition says that he was educated to be a lawyer and that he was reading law at Albany before the Revolution, a statement that is substantiated in part by the fact that he joined the Albany Lodge in about 1772. It is not until the early days of

the Revolution that we have any authentic information about him. So from the day of his birth, the first of February, 1751, we have to pass to the 27th day of August, 1774, when we find this young scion of the Palatine yeomanry in the very front rank of the patriotic leaders of the day, sitting in council with his elders and laboring henceforth incessantly for freedom's cause until he left his home for the army.

He attended the meeting of the Palatine Committee on August 27, 1774, which was held at the house of his brother-in-law, Justice Adam Loucks, at Stone Arabia, and acted as Clerk of the meeting, and he, with Christopher P. Yates, Isaac Paris and John Frey, were appointed a Committee of Correspondence. Again, at the meeting of the Palatine District, on May 11, 1775, he was made a member of the Committee of Correspondence. The third committee meeting was held on May 19th, 1775, and the original resolutions, in Finck's handwriting are still in existence. For patriotic language they are equal to the best productions of those stormy days, and breathe such sincere feeling that I cite here the concluding sentences:

"We are determined, although few in numbers, to let the world see who are not attached to American Liberty, and to wipe off the indelible disgrace brought on us by the Declaration signed by our grand jury and some of the magistrates, who in general are considered by the majority of our county as enemies to their country. In a word, gentlemen, it is our fixed resolution to support and carry into execution everything recommended by the Continental and Provincial Congress, and to be free or die."

He was also present at the District and County meetings of May 21st, 24th, 29th, June 2nd, 3rd. At the meeting of June 11th, 1775, held at Goose Van Alstine's house, Nicholas Herkimer acted as Chairman and Andrew Finck, Jr., as Secretary. We also find his name as present at the meetings of July 3, 13, 14, 15, 1775. At the latter meeting, held at the house of Warner Tygert, Yates and Herkimer in the chair, a letter was ordered sent to

the Provisional Congress, recommending for appointment the names of Christopher P. Yates as Captain and Andrew Finck, Jr., as First Lieutenant of a company which Mr. Yates was enlisting, and under date of the 21st of October following, as the fourth company of Col. Goose Van Schaick's regiments of New York troops, we find their appointment confirmed. The organizer of meetings, the writer of fiery resolutions, changes into the officer of the Continental Army, who is ready to prove by acts the sincerity of the words spoken or written by him at those gatherings of the friends of American liberty. Young Andrew Finck was the first one of the descendants of the Palatines to enlist in the services of the Colonies against oppression and tyranny, and, like his ancestors, he had to see the churches and schools, the houses and barns of his own family and neighbors destroyed by fire, the families scattered, the women and children slain or carried into captivity, until finally the just cause prevailed and his country became free. Instead of the fanatic Turenne and the soldiers of the most Christian king, Louis the Fourteenth, the Butlers and Johnsons, the hired Hessians and bloodthirsty Indians, played this work of carnage.

Andrew Finck was in the service of his country from the beginning to the very end of the Revolution, and his record shows that he was one of the most active and useful officers during the whole of the struggle. It is to be greatly regretted that most of his letters and documents have been lost, and that from existing sources it is impossible to give more than a mere sketch of his actual service.

The Major preserved all of his correspondence and had stored up many memoranda relative to his own personal service in the army and for the State, to incidents of the war and of his own later life. Tradition says that he had thus accumulated quite a treasure for future historical research. His own statements about his military career, still existing, prove that he was entirely too modest, even where his interests

would have been favored by stronger language and self-praise. These statements are so brief, so soldier-like, so very much to the point, and at the same time so very disappointing to the historian. From the time of his death in 1820, up to the time when Benton wrote his history, his papers had been wasted, relatives, friends, historians, autograph hunters and others had made away with them, and now only a small number of original papers can be found, in the hands of some of his descendants—in New York city, at Utica, and at Osceola, Iowa. From these and searches in State archives, we glean the following :

The warrant by the Provincial Congress was issued on August 11th, 1775, and received by James Holmes (see Calendar Hist. MSS. I., 108). He also had a commission as First Lieutenant in the Fourth Company of the Second Regiment of the New York forces, dated Philadelphia, July 11th, 1775, and signed by John Hancock, President. It is probable that the appointment by the Colonial Congress preceded the recommendation by the County Committee and the Provincial Commission. We have seen above that young Finck received the recommendation of the County Committee for the appointment of First Lieutenant on July 15th, 1775. Receiving the same, he and his brother, Honyost, started immediately for their regiment, as shown by the following letter :

Albany, 16th August, 1775.

Honoured Father and Mother :

I hope these few lines will find you in a state of good health, as I and my brother are at present. I expected to see you once more before I marched from Stone Araby but was not able. I therefore acquaint you that we are incamped at the Patroons Mills in this town. I have slept in the camp last night for the first time, upon a borrowed bed. I can assure you that every article of the camp occupage is very scarce in town not to be had for money. I have bought me a Gun at a high price and have a mattress a making, sword I am not supplied with yet.

As for news I can tell you for a certainty that Alexander White the Sheriff is taken prisoner and his two comrades from Tripes Hill. Give my best respects to my brother and sisters and to all inquiring friends in general, in my next I will be more particular in relating matters to you. Expect to march in a few days to Ticonderoga if no application from our committee.

From your affectionate son

humble servant

Andrew Finck.

Excuse my bad writing
had but 1½ hours
time to go to breakfast
and return again.

To Mr. Andrew Finck.

The regiment that Finck had joined was then known as the Second New York. After February, 1776, it became known as the First New York. Its commander was the brave Colonel Gozen Van-Schaick, a veteran of the French Indian War. This regiment did effectual service during the first five years of the Revolutionary War and took part in some of the most important events in the Mohawk Valley. Detachments of it served in Canada, at Saratoga, on the Hudson, and probably in the New Jersey campaigns. With the exception of two or three instances, Finck served on detached duty while he was connected with the regiment, which shows that his superiors must have had confidence in his judgment and bravery.

Family tradition says that he took part in the campaign of Montgomery and Arnold at Quebec. I think this is wrong; young Finck staid with the main body of the regiment at Albany. His name is not mentioned in any of the documents relating to that campaign and I find evidence that he drew his pay at Albany on January 1st, 1776, the day after Montgomery's death.

Lieutenant Finck accompanied General Schuyler in January, 1776, on his intended expedition against Sir John Johnson, and was then in command of a company. He was officer of the guard when Little Abram and General

Schuyler had their council at Schenectady (Schuyler's papers). Shortly afterward he was appointed recruiting officer of the regiment, as shown by the following order:

Albany, February 25th, 1776.

Sir:—I herewith deliver you your recruiting orders and a number of enlistments the blanks of which are to be filled up and then subscribed by the person enlisted.

Such men as you may from time to time enlist are to be sent to Col. Van Schaick at this place, that they may be equipped for their march into Canada with all possible despatch. Every man that is able to furnish himself with arms and blankets should do it. I am sir

Your humble servant

P. H. Schuyler

To Capt. Andrew Finck.

We see by this order that he had received in the meantime his commission of Captain, which is dated February 16, 1776, and ranges him as 3rd Captain, which from 14th First Lieutenant eight months before shows sufficiently for his military worth. The commission is endorsed by Philip Schuyler, Major General, and also contains the names of Henry Diffendorf, First Lieutenant; Tobias Van Veghten, Second Lieutenant, and John Denny, Ensign. The above order shows that the General selected the young Captain for the arduous duty of recruiting officer of the regiment, at the same time leaving him in charge of his company and doing important frontier duty. The following order was received by Finck shortly afterwards:

Albany, April 28, 1776

Sir:—You are to proceed to Fort George with your company without delay, you are to begin your march early tomorrow for which six days provisions will be necessary. A battoo will be ready at the lower dock to take in the baggage at Sunrise, you are to march by the same rout which the troops have taken who marched before you. Great care is to be taken that your men commit no depredations on the inhabitants.

I wish you a pleasant march and remain your well wisher

Goose Van Schaick.

To Capt. Andrew Finck.

Pursuant to this order he proceeded to Fort George, where we find him on May 3rd, 1776, as President of a Court Martial appointed by General Schuyler, for the trial of a number of cases. The court ordered that John Smith, of General Arnold's regiment, and Andries G. Neal, of Capt. Benedict's company (Van Schaick's regiment), receive 15 lashes each with the cat of nine tails on their bare backs for thefts. Also, John McDonald, of the latter regiment, 39 lashes for desertion, and Reuben Wiley, of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, 25 lashes for the same offense.

During the summer of 1776 he was stationed at Fort George, and judging from the movements and orders given to the regiment, the troops were kept busy with drilling, scouting, conveying, transporting and watching the enemy and the tories. During this year a rearrangement of the officers in the New York line was made, evidently for the main purpose of weeding out undesirable material, and we find in Calendar Hist. MSS. the return of Col. Van Schaick, in which he classifies Third Captain Andrew Finck as "good", while a number of others he designated as bad, middling, indifferent, and one even as "scoundrel." The name of the Captain was consequently forwarded for reappointment by Major General Schuyler, on October 7th, 1776, and on November 21st of that year he was re-commissioned Third Captain in the First Battalion of New York forces. At a meeting of the Provincial Military Committee with General Schuyler and Lieutenant Colonel Gansevoort, at Saratoga, October 22, 1776, it was agreed to appoint Captain Finck to recruit for Colonel Van Schaick's regiment, with garrison at Fort George, and money was appropriated for his disbursements for this purpose. There was little encouragement to the patriots in the events of 1776 and the first half of 1777. Captain Finck was for nearly all of that time in

command at Saratoga, while Captain Christopher P. Yates was staff officer of the regiment at Fort George, as shown by letter, dated Fort George, April 11th, 1777, in which Yates, as senior officer, informs Finck of some movements of the enemy and orders him to send a large scouting party to the westward. The next day Colonel Van Schaick sends him the same intelligence and orders him to take personal command and march with all the force he can collect, including batteauxmen and secure all the disaffected persons. The return of the Captain is missing, but the regiment reports two weeks later that the scouting party had been successful and cleared the country west, of all the royalists. This raid completed, Finck returned to Saratoga, to which place in the meantime the larger part of Van Schaick's regiment had moved, and on the 19th day of May 1777, Captain Finck presided at the Court Martial held over Alexander Jennison, a soldier of his own company, for desertion, who received 100 lashes with the cat-of-nine-tails at the public whipping post.

From his correspondence, we know that Captain Finck remained at Saratoga until June 25th, 1777, and possibly later. With the advance of Burgoyne the Americans retreated down the Hudson. In the meantime the victory at Bennington gave new hope to the army - and so did the report of the bravery of the Mohawk Valley Militia at Oriskany and of the final flight of St. Ledger. All but two companies of Van Schaick's regiment had been ordered west, and Captain Finck, as senior officer, commanded the same. He took active part in the two battles of Saratoga, October 7th and 9th, 1777, and his two companies fought together with a small body of consolidated New York troops. They were present at the surrender of Burgoyne, and immediately afterward we find Captain Finck again in command at Saratoga. Van Schaick's regiment had in the meantime been ordered down the Hudson, with other troops, to reinforce Washington's army, but did not proceed from Albany until February 1778. Cap-

tain Finck joined the regiment at Albany; In March 1778, the regiment moved southward, and likely remained on the Hudson during that year. In 1779, at the beginning of Sullivan's campaign, we find Van Schaick's regiment at Fort Stanwix, from whence it aided the campaign by destroying the settlements of the Onondagas. Captain Finck took an active part in this expedition. He continued with the regiment until 1780, when it joined again the forces on the Hudson, and Captain Finck by right of rank became Brigade Major of General James Clinton's brigade, interrupted only in May, 1780, when he goes with his old regiment, under command of Col. Van Schaick, to pursue Sir John Johnson, who had come by the northern route to recover personal property of the Johnsons at Johnstown and elsewhere. It was at this time that many Stone Arabia dwellings and barns were destroyed by Johnson. In October of the same year the rest of the settlement was completely destroyed.

The depressed period of the Revolution reached its climax in 1780—the treasury empty, the regiments without soldiers, and the people without hope. Retrenchments had to be made, and with the end of the year 1780 it was decided to consolidate the five New York regiments into two. Captain Finck, who was then the oldest captain in the line, retired on January 1st, 1781, from the Continental Army and returned to his parents, at Stone Arabia.

Thus closes a meritorious service of nearly five and one-half years in the line, in which he not only faithfully served as a field officer but did most useful work as a recruiting captain. He was during that time often absent on trips through the State, as shown by expense accounts. He enjoyed fully the confidence of the Commander-in-Chief and made during this time the acquaintance of many of the leading men of the period, LaFayette, the Clintons, and others. Returning home in March, 1781, after settling his accounts, we may suppose that he resolved to stay home and let others fight the battles. But little rest

from public duty was given him. The country needed then just such men as Finck was—brave, honest, straightforward and modest fighters of the just cause, who could not be swerved from the path of duty nor be discouraged by adversity. On April 5th, 1781, Finck was appointed one of the Justices of the Peace of the county, and as such he took the affidavit of the tory, Nicholas Herkimer, on November 3rd, 1781.

On May 30th of the same year he was appointed Commissioner of Conspiracies of Tryon County, and acted as such for several years. The appointment was made by Governor George Clinton. These commissioners were kept busy by the many acts of hostility on the part of the tories and by those people who had relatives who had been made prisoners by the enemy, as they had to recommend the exchange to the Governor. In the fall of 1781 a flag was despatched to Canada to negotiate the exchange of prisoners, with letters to the Governor of Quebec on the subject. Captain Finck furnished such a list and recommended quick action, as many of the families were great sufferers.

In 1781 the brave Lieutenant Colonel Marinus Willett, who had done before gallant service in the Mohawk Valley, and in whom the people had great confidence, was ordered to take the command of the levies which had been raised for the defense of the frontier, on the Mohawk River and elsewhere. The three-year men and the militia were also under his command. The condition of the country at that time was deplorable, and it required all the energy and influence of Willett to make his command a success. On July 6th, 1781, he wrote to General Washington that while formerly the militia had numbered 2,500, there were now not more than 800 men able to bear arms; of the rest, equal parts were prisoners, had gone to the enemy, or had abandoned for the present this part of the State. Those remaining were in dire distress, and all he had at that time under his command was 250 men. It is at this juncture that Willett prevails upon his friend, An-

drew Finck, to assist him in his work, and with the consent of the State authorities he became Brigade-Major and Inspector. During the battle of Johnstown, in October 20th, 1781, Captain Finck took an active part.

The official appointment of Finck for Brigade-Major of Levies was from September 1, 1781 to January 1, 1782.

Again retiring to his civic duties for a few months, the dangerous condition of the western frontier made it necessary for Willett to conduct a vigorous watch and constant patrolling, and accordingly he again asked Captain Finck to serve as next in rank. Finck consented and he was appointed by the council of appointment to the rank of Major by order of May 1st, 1782. As such he served during the remainder of the war, acting as Deputy Muster Master and Inspector. His talent for organizing, recruiting and drilling was well recognized by Willett and he left these matters entirely in Finck's hands. Out of the disorganized remnants and odds and ends of all sorts of troops, from the Tories and Hessians, from black and white, the faithful Finck recruited this frontier army, and in the summer of 1781 we find Willett in command of 1,100 men against 250 of the year before. The troops were kept busy by constant patrolling and when in garrison, Finck, the Steuben of the Mohawk Valley, drilled them until they became as efficient as the regulars. Both Willett and Finck were loved by the soldiers, both were men of democratic manners, of dash, pluck and energy, such men as a soldier likes to follow the world over.

The treasury being empty, the troops were raised on bounties of unappropriated lands, and it required considerable persuasion to gain recruits. In the spring of 1782 Major Finck was elected a member of Assembly from Tyron County. This assembly was in session from 11th to the 25th of July, 1782, at Poughkeepsie, and from January 27th, to March 23rd, 1783, at Kingston. Shortly before the latter session, on January 11th, 1783, Major Finck married Maria

Markel. Although more than a century has passed, still faint traditions linger among old families of the great Finck—Markel wedding. The old German families all united to make this event in the life of the young and brilliant officer a memorable affair, and following their customs they extended the celebration over many days. It is said that many high officers in the Army and some of the leading citizens of the State honored the Major and his bride by their attendance. Rev. Abraham Rosecrans officiated.

During part of the year 1782, and early in 1783, Major Finck was, at times, in command at Fort Herkimer and Fort Dayton, but mostly at Fort Plain. In January, 1783, the Commander-in-Chief conceived the object of surprising and obtaining possession of the important fortress of Oswego. The expedition was intrusted to Col. Willett. His troops were assembled at Fort Herkimer on the 8th of February. The result was not a success, but no blame was cast upon Willett, although he felt the failure very keenly. After his return he remained at Albany until spring, and the command of the forces devolved upon Major Finck who made his headquarters at Fort Plain. I do not think Major Finck took part in the expedition to Oswego. Returning from his duties at Kingston, before the close of the session, he assumed again his post of Inspector of Brigade. While in command of Fort Plain, and in general command of the troops in the Mohawk Valley, he received orders from General Washington on the 17th day of April, 1783, to send an officer with a flag of truce to Oswego, to announce to that garrison, from whence many of the Indian depredators came, a general cessation of hostilities, and an impending peace. Major Finck sent one Captain Thompson and four men on this errand. He was busy all summer and fall with the mustering out of the militia and levies and attending to the arduous duties of Major Muster Master, not only for Colonel Willett's regiment, but for all the different bodies raised at various times in the Mohawk Valley. The

duty of the recruiting officer, who may induce men to join the army, by promises of glory and prizes, is vastly different from that of the discharging officer at whose side sits a paymaster with empty coffers offering "Banker certificates and Morris notes" to the soldiers for their pay. Major Finck received his final discharge at Schenectady. The Finck family was certainly one of the most loyal during the whole Revolutionary period. Not a single member of the family is mentioned among the disaffected, and among the soldiers we find in the "archives of the State of New York" and in "New York in the Revolution" the following names :

Andrew

Two Christians

Two Hanyosts

Christopher

John

Peter

Two Williams and

Mattfred.

Major Finck was a State Senator during the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth sessions, being elected to represent the Western District. His father dying in 1786, he assumed the management of his farms, built a large and commodious brick house just south of the Stone Arabia Churches, where now is the orchard back of the stone house of Jacob Nellis, and after his return from his last term as senator he settled down to the life of a farmer, filling a few town offices and being for several years highway commissioner under an appointment of the Court of Sessions. The country becoming rapidly settled after the close of the war, many new roads were opened and the best men were required to fill the office of Highway Commissioner. This was the reason for the act of 1787, which made this office appointive. He also acted as Justice of the Peace. In 1790 he received 1,800 acres of bounty lands in the townships of Dryden, Ovid and Cato for his services as Major. One of the intimate friends of the Major was Major General Steuben,—they often visited each other. At the solicitation of the General, Major Finck joined in 1786

the German Society of New York, and continued a member thereof for many years. In the year 1784 thirteen noble hearted Germans had founded, after the pattern of the German Society of Pennsylvania, the above society, which has for its purposes to afford to the German emigrant advice, protection and, as far as in its power lay, assistance, allowing itself to be deterred by no obstacles or hostile actions from the fulfillment of its self-chosen duty. Baron Von Steuben was several years president of the Society and among the early members were such men as Col. Frederick Von Weissenfets, Col. Von Lutterloh; Pastor Gross, Henry and John Jacob Astor, Edward Livingston, Generals Peter Schuyler and Wm. Wilmerding. This society is still in existence.

In the year 1799 he was appointed by Governor John Jay, a commissioner of taxation of Montgomery County.

By inheritance, by good management of his farms and sale of his bounty lands, and by shrewd investments, the Major had become before the close of the century a wealthy man. His loyal and successful career entitled him to still larger honors on the part of the people. But he belonged to the unpopular political party. Major Finck was an ardent Federalist and could not have been elected to his terms in the assembly and senate if he had not been carried through by his military record and great personal popularity, but as time passed on the republican party grew stronger, especially among his own people, his chances of filling offices in the gift of the people grew less, and only once did he run again for public honors, in 1798, when he was defeated for congress by a small adverse majority.

In about 1772 Andrew Finck, Jr., joined the Union Lodge of Albany and his name appears as the 55th signer of the By-Laws of that society of which Peter W. Yates was then master, and Sir John Johnson Provincial Grand Master. Many of the later comrades in arms of the Major were members of this lodge, for instance, Peter Gansevoort, Christopher P. Yates, Henry

Dievendorf, Tobias Van Veghten and others. The name of the lodge was changed in 1806 to Mount Vernon Lodge No 3. of ancient New York Masons, and is still occupying a prominent position in Masonic Ranks. In the year 1785 he was transferred to St. Patrick's Lodge of Johnstown, N. Y., to which he belonged to the time of his death. In a deed of Michael Rawlins and wife, given in 1703, we find his name among the members of the lodge who purchased a lodge site in that village.

In order to explain some of the future movements of the Major it is necessary to rely almost wholly on family and local tradition. He was comfortably located, well connected with the most prominent families of the valley, had a sufficient income to maintain and educate his family, and to entertain in good style, and in the lavish way of the Palatines, his numerous friends, and political and military comrades. At the same time he grew less popular at home. Being of a pronounced aggressive temper and outspoken, he could not fail to make some enemies. Of superior education to his neighbors, having acquired different tastes during his youth, during his service in the army and in the legislature, he had become quite different from them. He was decidedly public spirited. He hoped that the war and the new condition of things would bring about a new era for his own people the Palatines. A great many of them fell back into the same rut in which they had traveled since their first arrival remaining unprogressive, excluding themselves from the touch of the world, failing to give their children proper instruction, and neglecting to occupy that position to which they were entitled, which condition lasted for several decades more. His efforts to bring about some improvement brought him little thanks. When he argued with them that they must have their children learn the English language, besides the German, they called him a "Yankee Dutchman." When he told them that it was a shame for people of their means to build log houses, they told him that he

could live in a brick house like the "Gentry" but they were satisfied with log houses as their fathers had been. Among the lands at Stone Arabia owned by Major Finck was a five acre lot known as the Dominie's lot and house. It was centrally located and well adapted for school purposes. The Major knowing that a better and modern school was badly needed in the country, rigged up the old building, hired some teachers and during the year 1796 a high school was kept there. The Major had interested some of his friends in New York and Albany and had promises from the state authorities to make this one of the new seats of learning to be established by the legislature. Everything was apparently on a promising basis. The Major told his neighbors about this plan, but they called a meeting at which it was resolved that too much learning would make bad farmers and his offer was positively declined. He kept on right along with his school, but most of them did not, not even his own brothers, send their youngsters, and only a few children and young people attended it. Finally some one found out that by flaw in Finck's title the land belonged to the Reformed church. In order to rid themselves of the school, they began a suit of ejectment against Finck and than a merry war began. Numerous suits on old justices' dockets of 1796, in which Finck figures on one side or the other, doubtless refer to this exciting period. Apparently acting under advice of counsel, on December 19th, 1796, he gave up the land and an agreement to that effect was drawn up. It is said that the German ministers of that day were at the bottom of this whole affair as they feared that the establishment of an English Academy would injure their own influence. For a year or so afterwards Finck maintained the school in his own house, but finally got tired of it, as those, whom he sincerely wanted to benefit, not only spurned his offer but misinterpreted his motives. The final result of this unpleasant occurrence was that the Major lost all interest in his native home, and about 1800 he went

with his wife and his younger children to the western part of the state, probably to some of his bounty lands, and seldom thereafter visited the old home. His efforts in regard to better education do not seem to have stopped however, as he afterwards gave, or sold for a nominal sum, the lands on which the Western College of Physicians and Surgeons, now the Fairfield Academy, stands.

In the meantime his oldest son, Andrew Ackler Finck, born in 1784, had grown up and settled, early in 1804, in the present town of Manheim, and married Delilah, the daughter of Captain Frederick Getman. The Mohawk turnpike had become the great western thoroughfare, and Andrew had wisely chosen a spot to locate a tavern where the southern and northern roads connected with the turnpike. Right on the banks of the Mohawk he built, in 1805, the famous tavern, still standing. He induced the Major to move with his family to Manheim, where the later erected a comfortable wooden house, which stood a little east of the Morgan Biddleman residence. It was plain on the outside, but very comfortably furnished, full of books and portraits of generals and pictures of battle fields, and a piano and objects of art showed the refined taste of the occupant. The door was double, so that the upper part could be opened, and this door was a favorite spot of the Major watching the passing world. It is said that the purchase of the land, known as the Andrew Finck farm, was somewhat costly to the Major, as he first purchased it of some representatives of the heirs of Molly Brant and Peter Brant, to whom the 300 acres had been willed by Sir William Johnson. It seems that this land was sold, like the rest of the forfeited lands, by the Commissioners of Forfeitures, but they failed to make an entry of this sale, and the Major's attorney became convinced that the heirs of Sir William Johnson's dusky housekeeper and of his son Peter still held their title. As a matter of fact, it was the prevailing opinion of that time that the titles based

upon the acts of attainder would prove valueless.

After the Major and Andrew A. had been settled for several years, the agents of the Ellice estate, the same estate which so mysteriously obtained title to some of the forfeited lands, claimed title and threatened suit. The outcome was that the Major declined to buy, but he loaned the necessary funds to his sons, Andrew A. and Henry, and finally, in 1813, they got a deed for the land from the Ellices. His Stone Arabia land he gave to his son Christian A. Here, from 1805 on, he spent the declining years of his life, surrounded by his family, once more witnessing the clearing of a homestead out of a virgin forest, but living right by that great artery of commerce, the turnpike, and not a day passing when he would not meet some old comrades in arms or some friend of younger years. In his new town he held only minor offices. We know nothing about him except for the few surviving people who still remember him. He was a man of medium height, solid but not fat, of very quick and sharp movements, with clear cut and clean-shaven face and dark complexion. Erect like a soldier to the last, his eyes clear and sharp and somewhat stern, children were not at first attracted to him, but rather afraid of him. His voice was still like that of an officer in the field, and in argument apt to rise to a battle pitch. Especially on one subject he was very irritable, which was that the Tories and the waverers of Revolutionary times were then enjoying equal rights with the loyal, and that many of them then held offices of public trust. That was the great unpardonable sin, and woe to him who crossed him on this subject.

In his dress he was extremely neat and spruce. He attended church when he could find English-speaking ministers, but he had got through with the German dominions.

From children he expected obedience and salute. Says one of the oldest inhabitants of Stratford: "I drove as a boy a few times my father's team to

Little Falls. We used to water the horses at a trough near the Major's residence. One day I drove up and I saw the old Major. I stared at him, but did not speak. He thundered out: 'What manners have you got, why don't you speak to an old gentleman?' I was almost scared enough to fall from my seat. The next day I came again, only to see the Major in the same place. I stammered out: 'Good day, Major.' He answered me in the most pleasant way, and we were ever afterwards the best of friends, he giving me often apples and sweets."

The same strictness as to manners he maintained in his own family, and everything was regulated in true military order. He kept four slaves, one of whom he gave to each of his four children. His daughter Mary, born in 1793, later Mrs. Chatfield, was educated at Albany, and was like all the female members of the Finck family, a strikingly beautiful girl.

In the family only German was spoken and he and his wife conversed both well and fluently in English and German, but did not use the so-called "Mohawk Dutch."

He was an inveterate smoker but only a moderate drinker, Simms' peculiar remarks notwithstanding. On the contrary, while the Major enjoyed his toddy and his bitters, he would drink just so much each day, and under no consideration more. His son Andrew A. followed the same rule and said that his father abhorred the immoderate drinking of many of his own people. From Simms' report it would appear that the fatal accident to the Major was caused in the first place by imbibing too much. It was the Major's stubbornness, which had grown with his years. He met on a narrow place of the turnpike, near his house, a four-horse stage going at full speed. Instead of turning clear out of way he was trying to exact half of the road. The team was going at full speed and the driver could not possibly stop them in time to prevent the serious accident. Horses and stage went over the old man and his right leg was badly

broken and splintered and a few months later, on the 3rd of February, 1820, he passed away, never leaving his bed after receiving the injury. He left no will, as he had disposed of all his real and personal estate some years before his death to his wife and children, saying that he wanted no quarrels after his death. His wife, described as an amiable, tall and good looking woman, followed him about three years later, on the 28th of January, 1823. The Major and his wife were survived by four children, Andrew A., Henry, Christian and Mary (Mrs. Chatfield.) Thus ended the active life of an earnest patriot, a brave soldier and one of the most prominent personages in this valley in the war of the revolution.

Many of his descendants have become well known and respected members of the commonwealth. His oldest son, Andrew A. was perhaps one of the best known men of his day in Herkimer County.

In the glorious days of coaching and staging on the great Mohawk turnpike, the tavern which he had built in 1805 became widely known in the valley. All the best stages stopped there, and as many as a hundred guests could be entertained there at a time. Many noted men of the time stopped at that inn, Jerome Bonaparte on his trips to the Black River and the Marquis de LaFayette on his visit in 1825. Andrew A. Finck told often how LaFayette inquired if he was a relative of that brave and fiery Major Finck whom he met on the Hudson in 1780. Hearing that he was dead, he had Andrew A. show him and his suite his grave and spoke there of him in feeling and praising words.

In the course of years Andrew A. Finck became a very prosperous man, he gave up keeping his tavern, rented it and built a handsome brick house on one of his farms, where he and his family for many years kept open house for their many friends up and down the river; the old Palatine hospitality was still continued and all the old families of the valley were numbered among their intimate friends. Engaged in

many enterprises, public spirited and successful, Andrew was a man far in advance of his time. He undertook a project to cross the Adirondack wilderness by railroad and canal, a scheme which at a later day took the brains and money of Dr. Webb to accomplish, by building the Adirondack R. R. After investing good sums of money the project failed on account of bad times and was abandoned.

Hospitable and generous to his friends and family, he was as trusting to his business associates. In independent position, owning large and fine farms, and numerous other investments, he likely never dreamed of reverses. But

they came. Allowing the use of his name on endorsements his whole fortune was swept away and he spent the last years of his life in straightened circumstances. His grave is in the same cemetery as his father's and mother's, and he rests by the side of his first wife.

Thus have I told what little is known of four generations of Andrew Finck, all of clear Palatine stock, honest and useful citizens of their respective times, without a stain on their name, whose descendants are justly proud of them and whom we are pleased to honor as citizens of our present County of Herkimer and of our mother County of Montgomery.

LOSS OF LIFE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY AND OTHER WARS.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, September 14, 1897.

Warlike implements of destruction have been so improved and brought to such a degree of perfection that in future wars between first class nations the loss of life will necessarily be so great that peaceful methods by negotiation and arbitration will be resorted to for the settlement of international disputes, and the conflict of armies will be avoided whenever possible. Thus the cause of peace is greatly promoted by the improvement in arms.

The number of killed and mortally wounded in the later battles of modern times, in proportion to the number of soldiers engaged, has considerably increased.

During the revolutionary war, 1775 to 1781, 130,711 regulars and 164,080 militia, making together 294,791 soldiers were enrolled. During the war the killed, wounded and captured or missing, in battles and skirmishes on land and sea, were as follows: Americans killed, 3,282; wounded, 7,709; captured or missing, 12,982; aggregate, 23,973. British killed, 3,286; wounded, 8,913; captured or missing, 18,300; aggregate, 30,499.

In the single battle of Gettysburg in July, 1863, the greatest battle of our civil war, there were more persons killed, wounded and missing than on both sides

during the whole revolutionary war—the union loss in that battle being 23,186, and the confederate loss 31,621. There was a singular resemblance between that great battle and the battle of Waterloo in that there was about the same number of soldiers engaged on each side, and the losses were about same.

It has been estimated by competent authority that in the later wars in this country and Europe, the killed in the field should be increased by about 60 per cent. on account of those mortally wounded; and so increasing the Americans killed in the revolutionary war in battle by 60 per cent we have for the total number killed 5,251. To this number, however, should probably be added some who were killed, but simply reported as missing; and I think a fair estimate of the killed in battles and skirmishes of that war upon land and sea is about 5,500. Thus the porportion of killed to the whole number enrolled is about 1.90 per cent. To get at the total loss of life during the revolutionary war we must add to the 5,500 killed those who died from disease; and of those we have no statistics. But sufficiently accurate statistics of our civil war show that the deaths from disease, including those who died in confederate prisons, were double

the number of the killed. Applying the same rule to the revolutionary war, and we have for the loss of life due to casualties in battle and to disease, upon land and sea, 16,500. It is certainly safe to say that the whole number did not much exceed that; and yet Gordon in his history of America, published in 1794, (Vol. 3, page 390,) puts it at 70,000.

In our war with the British, 1812-15, the number of our soldiers killed in the field was not more than 1,600, and the wounded were 3,500. The number killed in battles upon the sea is unknown. There were not more than 30,000 soldiers in the army at any one time and not more than 4,000 in any battle. As I have not been able to find the number of soldiers enrolled during the war, I can not give the proportion of killed to the total enrollment; but it was evidently very small. Military arms had not been much improved between the revolutionary and the later war.

In the Crimean war of 1854-5 the allies lost in killed and mortally wounded 3.2 per cent. of their enrollment.

In the French and German war of 1870-1, the Germans lost in killed and mortally wounded 3.1 per cent. of their enrollment.

The number of killed in battles and mortally wounded during our civil war, 1861-5, was about 100,000, which was about 4.5 per cent. of the enrollment, which reduced to a three years' standard was 2,320,272 men. The confederate loss in killed and mortally wounded was over 9 per cent. of their enrollment. These percentages of loss were larger than for any other war of modern times. The total union loss during the civil war from

casualties in battle, disease and all other causes was about 325,000 — about 14 per cent. of the enrollment; and the total loss on both sides was over 500,000.

The regiment which lost the most in the civil war was the fifth New Hampshire. It lost in actions 295 men killed and mortally wounded, 18 of whom were officers. The regiment suffering the next greatest loss was the 83d Pennsylvania, which lost 282 men, 11 of whom were officers, two colonels having been killed and another wounded and crippled for life.

The number of killed and wounded in some of the battles of the civil war were greater than in any other battles of modern times, being as high in some of the battles as from 50 to 80 per cent. In the famous charge of the Light Brigade in the Crimean war at Balaklava so celebrated in poetry and prose, there were 673 men, 133 of whom were killed and 134 wounded—only 36.07 per cent.

The battle of Borodino, fought Sept. 7, 1812, a few days before Napoleon entered Moscow, is said by historians to have been the bloodiest battle since the introduction of gunpowder—the killed and wounded on both sides numbering 82,000.

The time will come, and the sooner the better, when wars will be regarded as barbarous, unworthy of civilized peoples and when the manufacture of warlike implements will be superfluous. Before we have entered far into the 20th century, I believe the great mass of rational beings will wonder that civilized nations had not sooner discovered some other way than the bloody resort to arms for the settlement of national disputes.

ILION AND THE REMINGTONS.

AN ADDRESS BY ALBERT N. RUSSELL, OF ILION,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, September 14, 1897.

The history of Ilion as a village, both as to its origin and growth up to the present decade is so intimately connected with the lives and achievements of the Remingtons as to warrant the combination in the title to this paper, as well as to forbid any attempt at the treatment of the first independent of the last.

The proper limits to a paper to be read at a meeting of this society, however, confine me to the statement of such historical facts regarding the growth of the village as are coincident with, and inseparable from, the progress of the Remington works. In referring to the various enterprises and industries which comprise in part the history of "the Remingtons," I shall not treat each in its regular sequence, nor in detail, but shall endeavor to make a brief record, informally, of that which may be interesting to those who may consult the archives of this society in years to come, and with a consciousness that my paper will afford but slight entertainment to this audience.

The appellation, the Remingtons, is used here as applying principally to the members of that family who originated and conducted the manufacturing enterprises, the development of which have been the potent factor in the establish-

ment and growth of the village, with its great industries, viz: Eliphalet Remington, (the second bearing that name) and his three sons, Philo, Samuel and Eliphalet, Jr.

The father of the Eliphalet Remington referred to, also named Eliphalet, was born in Suffield, Hartford county, Conn., Oct. 13, 1768, and his wife, Elizabeth Kilbourn, in Sandersfield in the same state, Aug. 20, 1770. They were married March 3rd, 1791. Their children were: Elizabeth, born Feb. 2, 1792; Eliphalet, born Oct. 28, 1793; Aphia, born May 13, 1800, and Samuel, born Jan. 11, 1808, who died in infancy.

Elizabeth married Alanson Merry and was the mother of Mrs. Aphia Chismore, now living in Ilion, aged 82 years; John, living in Placerville, Cal.; Eliphalet, who was one of the many passengers lost in the wreck of the steamer "Central America" in 1857, on a return voyage from California; Edward, Charles and Welthy, deceased.

Eliphalet Remington, the founder of the Ilion works, married Abigail Pad-dock, who was killed by being thrown from a buggy by a runaway horse on Aug. 21, 1841. Besides the three sons his children were: Mary Ann, now living and widow of Rev. Chas. Austin,

and Maria, who became the wife of the late Lawrence L. Merry, and mother of Seward, now living in Ilion, and two daughters, Carrie and Addie, now living in Streator, Ill. Mrs. Merry died March 30, 1876. Susanna, another daughter died at the age of 21, unmarried.

Aphia P., his sister, became the wife of the late John S. Avery of Litchfield, and mother of four sons, William, now deceased; Sanford, now living on part of the homestead in Litchfield; Samuel, living in Council Bluffs, Iowa; Alanson, deceased, and four daughters, viz: Thetis, wife of Lorin True, both of whom are deceased; Elizabeth, now living in Ilion; Mary M., who married Thomas Davis and is deceased, and Lucy, the wife of James Leveck, now living at or near the old homestead.

I have stated that the first Eliphalet Remington and Elizabeth Kilbourn, his wife, were natives of Connecticut, and have given the date of their marriage. Their first three children were born in that state. In 1800 they immigrated to Herkimer county, first making their homes at Cranes Corners, where Mr. Remington worked at his trade, that of carpenter, and, as Mrs. Chismore informs me, built there what is known now as the "Old Union church."

Previous to moving here, viz, March 22, 1799, he purchased from James Smith of Litchfield 50 acres of land, the deed for which is of record in 1804, in the first book of records made after the fire which destroyed all records of previous date.

His subsequent purchases as indicated by the records gave him a holding of about 300 acres of land covering the territory where the Columbia Springs hotel now stands in the gulph, about three miles south from Ilion, and sufficient land along Steele's creek at that point to make its waters available as a power for industrial purposes.

At that date there was no continuous road leading through the Gulph to Cedarville from where Ilion now is, but instead one crossing Steele's creek to the west near the present residence of Dennis H. Dygert and following near the creek

to where the Harrington road now turns west and by that route up to the old Remington farm, then down the hill as now, to the sulphur springs in the gulph and along the creek for some distance, then again taking to the hills on the west and back to the creek at Cedarville.

This made the senior Remington's property on the creek a suitable place for a black-smiths shop and gave such control of the steam as to enable him to utilize it as a water power for propelling machinery.

The foregoing is written as prefatory to the formal introduction of Eliphalet Remington the second, as the founder of Ilion and its industries and to enable me to correct some errors in tradition and written history.

The first relates to his birth place, which has been given as Litchfield while in fact he was 7 years old when his parents emigrated to that place from Connecticut. Other errors will be manifest as I proceed. The initiatory step to his mechanical and business career was the forging of a gun barrel for his own use which was done in the blacksmith shop referred to.

In Beers history of Herkimer county it is stated that this occurred in 1816 and when he was 19 years old. If that was his age it must have been in 1812. If in 1816, his age was 23, for he was 7 years old in 1800.

From all the information attainable, I am led to the conclusion that the blacksmith shop referred to was in fact a forge having power furnished by a water wheel, and that the welding of scrap iron into bars and forging the bars into crowbars, pickaxes, sleigh-shoes, plow shares and points, was carried on there as well as horse shoeing and general repair work for farmers and that the industry was installed by Eliphalet Remington 1st, who as we have seen was a mechanic, and who doubtless was well aware of the mechanical genius of his son and wisely provided for his establishment in a congenial business.

The association of the father with the son, and his active participation in

his enterprises continued till the property where the great manufactory in Ilion now is, was purchased in 1828, and his life was sacrificed in the birth of that establishment.

On the 22nd day of June in that year while engaged in hauling the timbers which entered into the construction of the first shop, he was thrown from the load by the canting of one of them and fell in such a position that the wheel of the wagon ran over him and injured his spine so seriously that death resulted after 5 days—on the 27th.

Whether young Eliphalet Remington forged his first gun barrel and with his own hands produced the finished gun because of his father's unwillingness to buy him one, as stated in existing histories, or because of an ambition to achieve such a mechanical success is a question of minor interest, but as the initiatory to an immense manufacturing business sending its products to the ends of the earth, and the founding of a village ranking among the first in the valley of the Mohawk it becomes of great interest and a striking illustration of the wonderful developments of this age and of our locality.

The quality of this first gun was such as to create in the neighborhood a demand for others of like efficiency. In response to this demand barrels both for rifles and shot guns were forged and appliances devised and put into use finishing exterior and interior, ready for stock-ing and completing.

In those days no factories for the manufacture of guns were in existence, but in every important village or town was to be found a gun smith, whose business was by primitive methods to make and repair fire arms for those living in the vicinity, the barrels for the same being imported from England and Belgium by hardware merchants. Morgan James was the leading smith in Utica and to him Mr. Remington took his first rifle barrels to be rifled, often taking as I am told, as many as he could carry on his back and making the journey of 15 miles on foot, return-

ing with a like load of those left on the previous trip.

This was, however, but a temporary expedient. He soon had a rifling machine of his own in operation, and was producing more effective barrels than could be obtained elsewhere. Ponderous grind-stones were quarried from a ledge of red sandstone a short distance up the creek from the forge, and used to grind the exteriors true, and to the desired form, being driven by water power. The reputation of the Remington barrels soon became so great and extended so far that the gunsmiths were obliged to use and the hardware merchants to handle them in order to retain their customers.

Thus the merits of these products became known throughout our whole country and the little forge assumed the dignity of a factory.

An examination of an account book commencing in 1823 shows that while the making of gun barrels became a prominent part of the industry, the other branches of work were kept up, and that the prevalent method of paying workmen in part with "store goods" obtained with them.

Among other articles manufactured there was one the use of which is little known by the present generation, the cow bell.

The work was carried on at this point till 1828 when 100 acres of the John A. Clappsadle property was purchased and removal made to the site of the now village of Ilion. To this purchase several additions were subsequently made. The firm of Hawes & Haines succeeded in the occupancy of the gulph establishment, where they manufactured carpenter's squares and edged tools. They in turn sold to John F. Brown who conducted the same business till about 1855 and then sold out to a firm who removed the works to North Bennington, Vt. This Mr. Brown conceived the idea of making a watering place by the sulphur spring found there, and built the brick house known as the Columbia Springs Hotel. The enterprise was unsuccessful and the establishment is at

this writing in a seriously dilapidated condition.

Following Mr. Remington to his new location, we find at "London" now the west part of Main street, two hotels for the accommodation of teamsters and canal men and a third near the site of the present gas works, a small store on the site of the new Heacock-Walker block, a canal warehouse where the recently built brick Hotaling block now stands, and perhaps a half dozen dwellings, mostly farm houses.

The first structure erected by Mr. Remington was a dwelling on the ground now occupied by O. B. Rudd's jewelry store. Following this, came the wooden shop directly in the rear of the office building, in the tower of which is the town clock.

In this building was installed the machinery for forging bar iron and converting the same into the various utensils previously made in the gulph establishment, and for making and finishing ready for market barrels for rifles and shot guns, comprising in part a large tilt hammer, several light trip hammers, a large tub bellows and grind stones, with the necessary boring and rifling machines. To furnish power, water was brought from Steele's Creek by what is known as the "lower race" and utilized for driving the several water wheels, the waste from which was, by an arrangement with the canal authorities, discharged into the Erie canal as a feeder. Increasing business demanded increased facilities; a stone building near the canal was built the following year and equipped with water wheels and triphammers, to be used especially for welding and forging gun barrels. This has always been known as the "Stone Forge."

The demand for the Remington gun barrels had by this time become so extended that an organized shipping department became necessary, where a supply of locks, rough gun stocks, butt plates, patch boxes and other trimmings were kept, so that the gunsmith could obtain his complete outfit. For many years and till the making of guns passed from the gunsmith to the factory, this

department was in charge of Mr. A. C. Seamans, father of C. W. Seamans of typewriter fame.

In this manner the business was conducted by Mr. Remington with such changes and improvements as experience suggested, till in 1839, he entered into a partnership with Benj. Harrington for the purpose of making the manufacture of iron and such articles as were not properly connected with the gun business, a separate enterprise. For this purpose they built a dam on Steele's Creek and diverted the water into a pond or reservoir on the land now owned by the heirs of John Beihn, near the present residence of William Harrington, and about a mile south of the Ilion works, erected thereby the necessary buildings and equipments for making bar iron from scrap and from the iron produced, made the utensils commonly used by the farmers in those days, also mill spindles and such other irons as were used in grist and saw mills.

To furnish the scrap iron used, teams were employed to traverse the surrounding country and gather it in. The field of supply embraced all the surrounding counties, including Oswego. Iron ore was also drawn from the Clinton ore beds in Oneida county. To furnish the fuel the timber was cut from the surrounding hills and burned into charcoal. The firm also built and operated the saw mill known as "Harrington's Mill," the ruins of which were burned about three years since.

This forge was operated until the manufacture on a large scale and in proximity to the supplies of ore and coal rendered it unprofitable, and today nothing remains to mark the spot but a remnant of the diverting dam and the banks of the pond, the bed of which is a productive market garden.

In the meantime the sons of Mr. Remington were attaining maturity. Philo, who was born October 31, 1816, became of age in 1837; Samuel, born April 11th, 1818, in 1839; and Eliphalet, born November 12, 1828, in 1849.

Philo was educated in the common schools and at Cazenovia Seminary.

Samuel at common schools and at Wilbraham Academy. Eliphalet attended Little Falls Academy and Cazenovia Seminary, in addition to the home schools.

Philo remained with his father and became master of all branches of the mechanical work, while Samuel tried his fortunes for a time in railroad construction in the west, meeting with so little success that he soon returned to Ilion, where for a time he conducted business by himself, opening a store on the canal bank in 1845.

In 1845, war with Mexico being imminent, our government entered into contract with Ames & Co., of Springfield, Mass., for the construction of several thousand carbines, the invention of one William Jencks. For some reason this company desired to be relieved of their job after having commenced to execute it, and Mr. Remington purchased the contract, together with such machinery as they had adapted to the work. The equipment was meagre, but combined with his own facilities, enabled him to execute the work to the satisfaction of the government. Mr. Jencks, the inventor, came on to supervise the work and afterwards built the brick house on the north side of the canal now known as the John A. Rasbach homestead.

The building on the hill, now called the old armory, was built to enable Mr. Remington to carry out this first contract, and what is called the upper race, constructed to bring water to the wheel by which the machinery was driven.

Thus equipped, Mr. Remington was ready to undertake other contracts and before he had finished the carbine work he had an order for 5,000 "Harpers Ferry" rifles, and before they were delivered, a further order of 5,000 was received, and later, an additional one for 2,500 of the same. 5,000 Maynard self-priming musket locks were also made during the years 1857 and 1858. I summarize this as embracing most of the military work executed up to the advent of the war of the rebellion in 1861, but about 1857, one Fordyce Beals, invented a revolver which Mr. Remington manu-

factured under the inventor's supervision, and the making of pistols of various models became an important branch of the work carried on.

Meanwhile Samuel had, in connection with others, engaged in the manufacture of broom handles and brooms and in 1851 or 1852, in one of the buildings which is now about in the center of the group, had commenced the manufacture of Yales patent locks, the father of Louis Diss, now assistant superintendent of the typewriter works, having charge of the work. After a year or so he also undertook the manufacture of safes and vault doors for banks, John F. Thomas being foreman in this department. Among the establishments equipped by him was the U. S. Mint at Philadelphia. In 1855 he also manufactured 200 breech loading guns of a model patented by one Merrill, but the system did not prove practicable, and no more were made.

The separate enterprises which Samuel had inaugurated, were abandoned in 1856 and thereafter all the business was conducted by E. Remington & Sons, the three sons being partners.

About that time Mr. Charles Sayre of Utica, invented a cultivator tooth which they commenced to manufacture on the premises where the safe and lock work had been done and Mr. David D. Devoe became foreman of that work. This may be considered as the beginning of the agricultural works which later became so extensive.

During the period between 1828 and 1861 a thrifty little village with about 800 inhabitants had grown up around the Remington works. A postoffice was established in 1845 first named after Mr. Remington, but at his urgent request changed to Ilion, a name suggested by D. D. Devoe, who was the first postmaster. Mr. Remington had built himself a substantial residence, the brick building on Main street now occupied by the Remington Arms Co., as an office, the bank block and the Osgood hotel.

Philo and Eliphalet, Jr., had each become established in homes built on Otsego street directly opposite the first armory buildings, and on the corner of

Otsego and Second streets, where the present brick Baptist church stands, a Union church had been erected. The stone school house on Morgan street provided accommodation for educational purposes. The village was incorporated under the general laws in 1852, but subsequently a special act of incorporation was obtained which, with various amendments and substitutions, remains in force. In August of that year the Ilion bank was incorporated with a capital of \$100,000, with Eliphalet Remington as president, he holding that office until his death.

With the advent of the civil war, a new impetus was given to the work of the "Armory," the new name now applied to the works. Orders were given by our government for army and navy revolvers. For the manufacture of these many new and special machines were purchased and tools adapted to the work made. Additional room was provided by building, and steam engines installed as auxiliary to the water power. Work was pushed night and day, but the requirements of the government could not be met in full and a building was rented in Utica and equipped for pistol work which was carried on there for a short time and then brought to Ilion. Orders were also received for large numbers of the regulation U. S. Springfield musket which could only be made after the erection of several large buildings with corresponding increase of expensive machinery and the necessary tools and fixtures.

Under the pressure of these new demands upon his energies, the elder Mr. Remington was prostrated and on Aug. 12th, 1861 his remarkable career was ended, the second sacrifice to an enterprise of which communities and nations were to be the beneficiaries. His burial place was in the village cemetery, in a spot selected by him while surveying the land first purchased in Ilion.

I cannot speak of the personalities of Mr. Remington from the standpoint of an acquaintance, his death occurring a few weeks before I became a resident of Ilion, but as gathered from others only.

In stature he was tall, of muscular build and capable of great endurance. His manners were gentle and kindly, but his resolutions were firm, and obedience was enforced in the execution of his plans. His education was such as was afforded by the local schools, but he was a careful reader and became a well informed man. His habits were strictly temperate, his morals pure. As a neighbor he was always kind and obliging. In every movement to promote the interests of the village he was a leader and co-worker. He was a man of sterling integrity and had the implicit confidence of his employes who always sought his advice and counsel. In politics he was an old line whig until the advent of the republican party with which he early identified himself.

In his religious views he was liberal rather than sectarian and he contributed generously for building a union church to be free for the use of all denominations, regarding that the best way to promote the religious interests of a community as small as Ilion then was. A strict economist he wasted neither time nor money, but I am persuaded that he was not greedy, and that an ambition to be rich was far from being his impelling motor. With men of his type, it seems to be an impulse to do, to develop, to produce and improve, which has no need for avarice as a motive power or selfishness as an incentive to economy. He evidently had but little taste for business as conducted by office machinery. It has been said of him that "he carried his office in his hat." This saying was doubtless inspired in part by his custom of carrying his current letters and papers in the tall hat which he commonly wore instead of in the inside pocket as many of us do. ;

In looking over his books I find none of those special accounts now so generally kept; such as construction, repair, tools and machinery, etc., nor of interest or expense accounts, bills receivable and payable and other entries serving in any way to indicate his financial condition or business profits. An unusually retentive memory seems to have

enabled him to carry under his hat a greater part of that which is usually confided to the keeping of the ledger.

I am able to pronounce no greater eulogy upon his character than by saying that during the thirty-six years I have lived in Herkimer county, I have never heard him spoken of except in terms of respect and commendation.

The management of the manufacturing department was devolved upon Philo, the oldest son, while Samuel, the second, assumed a position corresponding with that of general agent, which made him the negotiator of contracts with the government, purchaser of machinery materials, etc., a work which required him to spend much of his time at the capitol or in the business centers of the country. To Eliphalet was left the general supervision of the office and particularly the correspondence, for which he was especially qualified by reason of superior penmanship and great felicity in the use of language. The firm name "E. Remington & Sons" was retained until 1865 at which date the business was capitalized, an incorporation being effected under the same name with a nominal capital of \$1,000,000, and a plant valued at about \$1,500,000. This organization covered only the Arms business and properties, other interests being retained under the name of Remington Brothers or by the brothers individually.

The work was pushed with unremitting energy until the preparations were complete and they were able to make regular deliveries of muskets to the war department.

On the 12th day of April 1865, immediately after the surrender of the confederate army by General Lee, an order was issued from the war department stopping all further purchase of arms and munitions, and the Remingtons were notified to discontinue the production of guns and revolvers for government use. This doubtless as a necessary act on account of the impoverished condition of the treasury, but none the less cruel in its effects upon the company which had incurred a large indebtedness

depending upon the profits of government work for its liquidation.

With resources thus cut off the struggle for life became intense. The Union bank which was a large creditor was so deeply involved as to cause its suspension and Thomas Richardson, Esq., as receiver, wound up its affairs. In this connection it is a pleasure to record that afterwards when returning prosperity enabled them to do so, the Remingtons paid the stockholders and all persons holding claims against the bank in full with interest.

During the progress of the war it had been clearly demonstrated that the future infantry arm must be breech loading, and in anticipation of this change the company had already availed itself of the inventive genius of Mr. John Rider, a German by birth and a resident of Newark, Ohio, and placed under his direction a corps of skilled mechanics, John V. Schmidt and others, who were working for the production of a breech loading rifle with the qualifications necessary to secure its adoption by military authorities.

The company possessed the confidence of the public to such a degree that creditors willingly granted extension of time, during which their running expenses were met by the proceeds of the other branches of work, and in due time they were prepared to offer the governments of the world the simplest, most effective and durable fire arm the inventive genius of the age had produced.

It should be stated in this connection that some parts of the mechanism of these guns were the invention of parties outside of the Remington works, the use of which was obtained by license, with payment of royalty.

The manufacture of this new model of gun required the construction of a complete set of tools and fixtures, of such accuracy that all the parts would be interchangeable, that is, that each piece of a given gun would fit perfectly into any or all the others. The cost of these tools and the additional machinery required a further outlay of many thousands of dollars, but with a faith and

perseverance that yielded to no discouragements, they worked on till in 1867 the government of Denmark adopted the gun and entered into a contract for 42,000 stands of arms. Mr. Samuel Remington had now become the representative of the house in foreign lands where he remained till 1877. The works were run night and day and the contract successfully executed.

In 1867, an order was also received from the naval department of our government for 12,000 rifles which were duly delivered. Spain came in the same year for 85,000. Next, in 1868, came Sewden with an order for 30,000, followed in 1869, by Egypt, with a call for 50,000. In 1870, France and Germany being engaged in a war, for which France was illy prepared, that government came to Ilion for help. Unlimited orders for arms were given. Neither buildings, machinery nor tools had sufficient capacity to meet the demands.

Large additions were made to every department and the working force increased till 1,300 to 1,400 men were employed, a large number of whom were skillful mechanics. The regular output of rifles was 800 to 1,000 per day besides great numbers of pistols.

So excellent was the management and so perfect the equipment and organization that the product per day for each man employed was largely in excess of that attained in the Springfield armory during the civil war or of any other arms factory in the world.

A most marvellous exhibition of capacity and skillfully directed energy was made during the latter period of this undertaking when the output of completed rifles was 1200 to 1300 per day and of revolvers about 200. The record of such achievements needs no commentary to establish the reputation of Philo Remington as one of the most capable manufacturers our country has produced. The work was done under the contract system, being divided among 30 or more capable contractors under the direction of a superintendent and the necessary foreman.

The aggregate number of arms furnished France was 145,000. The execution of these contracts had resulted in large profits by which the debts of the corporation were liquidated, and the termination of the transactions, with France left them with a surplus which was deemed sufficiently large to warrant a dividend, which was made, approximating \$2,000,000.00 to which smaller sums were subsequently added.

Previous to this Col. Watson C. Squire married a daughter of Philo Remington and became prominently connected with the business management, occupying the position of secretary and treasurer and by virtue of his position, the financial executive. He also acquired the ownership of a portion of the stock of the company which he retained for a time and then exchanged with Philo Remington for real estate in Seattle Washington. He was succeeded by Eliphalet Remington in the office of treasurer. Incidentally it may be stated that by appointment of President Arthur Col. Squire became governor of the territory of Washington and later by election, United States senator from the new state, which position he held for two consecutive terms.

In 1872 the state of New York having adopted the Remington rifle for use by the national guard, made a contract for 21,000 which were duly furnished.

I think it should be recorded at this point that in the spring of 1870 a board of army officers appointed to test the various arms which had been invented and were seeking adoption by our government met at St. Louis, Major General Scofield being chairman. About fifty different models of rifles were submitted to the most severe tests, in which the Remington was victorious, and the commission reported decidedly in its favor. This report was fully endorsed by General Sherman, the head of the army. This was supposed to have been conclusive and to have established the Remington as the national arm, but by methods which are not subject to discussion here, interested parties finally procured the adoption of what is known as the "Allin

Gun" which our government has wasted millions in manufacturing, and now, strange to tell, our state legislature has committed the folly of providing for the exchange of her Remingtons for these inferior arms.

Following the completion of the French requisition, came in quick succession an order from Porto Rico in 1874 for 10,000, from Cuba the same year for 63,000, followed by Spain for 130,000, Egypt for 55,000 and another from Cuba for 26,500. Subsequent orders executed for the government of Mexico aggregated 50,000 and for Chili 12,000 and sales were made from time to time from the New York office and by Messrs. Hartley & Graham aggregating 144,500. The dates given above are of the first deliveries on the several orders. For work executed subsequent to 1875, I have not secured accurate statistics, but I am informed by Mr. Frederick Armstrong, who for a long time was book-keeper for the company, and who has kindly furnished me the foregoing data, that sales to the United States of Columbia, Honduras, China and other governments will swell the number to considerable above one million arms manufactured and delivered.

The introduction of the breech-loading rifle was accompanied with great improvement in the range and effectiveness of military fire-arms, and one of the qualifications of the good soldier must be expert marksmanship, the ability to pick his man at a distance of 1,000 yards or more. Both in this and foreign countries "ranges" were established where both soldiers and "teams" of men from private callings engaged in practice and contests for superiority. The Remington "Creedmore Rifle," of which many were manufactured, on account of its great accuracy and projectile force, became a favorite in these matches and with it victories were won in both national and international matches. If any evidence were lacking to prove the excellence of the products of the Ilion works these contests furnished all that was needed.

The conduct of a business of such

magnitude and so intricate in its details required the employment of numerous assistants in both financial and mechanical departments. Prominent in the department of finance was Floyd C. Shepard, who retained his connection with the company till its dissolution. Thomas Richardson Esq., was their legal counsellor and as such crossed the ocean several times in their interests.

From the time of the enlargement of the works in the sixties and until 1877, when he was succeeded by W. S. Smoot, J. M. Clough was superintendent of the manufacturing department. Mr. Smoot was succeeded by John Hoefler, who continued to occupy the position until the business passed into other hands.

For several years John F. Thomas was in charge of the machine and repair shop. He was succeeded by Charles E. Pettee.

From 1861 to 1877, the writer was in charge of a department covering freight and transportation, buildings, fixed machinery and millwright work, coal, lumber and supplies of a general nature, a department outside of the manufacturing line, but intimately associated therewith as an auxiliary. In this position a general knowledge was acquired which was doubtless the basis of an appointment to which reference will be made hereafter.

Mr. Samuel Remington with his family made their home in London, while abroad, and remained there till 1877, as stated, when they returned and resided in New York city till the time of his death, which occurred December 1st, 1892. His family consisted of wife, now deceased, formerly Miss Flora, daughter of Benjamin Carver; three sons, Carver, Eliaphalet and Frank, now of Chicago, and one daughter, Jennie, now Mrs. Prettyman, and also, I believe, residing in Chicago. My acquaintance with Samuel Remington was less thorough than with his brothers, but sufficient to enable me to estimate with some degree of correctness his qualities. In stature he was of medium height, with an inclination to corpulency. His complexion was fair, his hair dark and a pleasant

expression of the eye made his presence agreeable. I think he was an ambitious man, and that he had a greater desire to make money for personal ends than either of his brothers. He taxed his physical and mental powers to the point of utmost endurance and chafed and worried over delays, whether unavoidable or the result of negligence on the part of others. His integrity was unquestioned and his success in negotiating contracts with foreign potentates testifies to his ability in that line.

During the Franco-German war, France not only gave him unlimited orders for arms of his own company's make, but made him purchasing agent for all the arms and munitions which he could procure in this country, a commission of great responsibility, involving transactions amounting to many millions.

He was not in harmony with his brothers in their religious convictions and seemed but little interested in church or social affairs. He was a friend of the common school and a liberal supporter of all schemes to improve the village schools. In politics he was a republican, but was too busy a man to devote his time to political work.

In the settlement of his estate his administrators sold his stock and all his interests in the business of the corporation to his brother Philo who then became chief owner as well as manager of the business.

Following the adoption of the breech loading rifle as an infantry arm and the systematic manufacture by machinery with interchangeable parts, all the first class governments of the world and some of the lesser ones made haste not only to equip their armies with breech loaders, but to establish plants for their manufacture. Some adopted the Remington, others, models devised by their own inventors. All sought to make themselves independent of foreign countries in time of war, as well as to promote manufacturing industries within their own domains.

The Turkish government while not included in the first class is among the

most war like, but too near barbarous and destitute of skill in the mechanical arts to be competent to manufacture her own arms, and remained an open field for their sale.

At one time, after protracted negotiations, the Remingtons were at the point of closing a contract with that government for 400,000 rifles when a party, non official, but occupying a position of great influence with the Sultan, stepped in with a demand for a bonus of fifty cents per gun, which the company refused to pay, with the result that they lost the job. Another effort to secure an order, the failure of which was of great effect in determining the future of the company, will be referred to hereafter.

One of the principal and most embarrassing features of negotiations for government contracts was the almost universal existence of corrupt and secret influences which never could be measured nor dealt with in the day light. With the corruptionist the merits of things to be bought or the price to be paid by the governments are secondary to private plunder. The refusal of the Remingtons to pay tribute to these scoundrels should ever be given honorable mention in a review of their business career.

The limitations thus put upon the sale of their products made the continued residence of Samuel abroad unnecessary and led to his return as before stated. It had also made patent the fact that new lines of manufacture must be adopted or their vast establishment be reduced to comparative idleness. Sporting rifles, shot guns and pistols would employ but a fraction of their facilities. Machinery and appliances for making metallic cartridges were added but this afforded but a slight reinforcement to their work.

One source of relief to which I have not referred was however thought possible. The great success of the breech loading arm had intensely stimulated inventive genius in the line of improvement of fire arms, and the magazine rifle gave promise of being the quick successor of the breech loader. The Winchester and other arms manufacturers were quickly

in the field with successful sporting rifles of that type and the Remingtons gave inventors in this line employment and mechanical facilities, hoping thereby to secure for themselves a position in this field which would command the patronage at least of the minor South American governments and possibly some of those of the old world.

Among the first of this class of inventors was one John W. Keene who produced a magazine rifle which was deemed of sufficient merit to warrant the construction of tools for its manufacture. Numbers of guns were made both for military and sporting purposes but they proved to lack the elements of practicability and safety and their manufacture was abandoned leaving a lot of unsalable guns on hand with a large amount charged to profit and loss account.

Another and more successful inventor in this line was James P. Lee who brought out a practical and meritorious military arm. Mr. Lee spent several years in the Remington works utilizing their facilities for experimenting and model making. This arm was what is known in military parlance as a bolt gun, common so far as this feature is concerned in various forms, in Europe, the distinguishing feature of his gun being a detachable magazine or case carrying five or more cartridges, a number of which could be carried on the soldier's belt and when required instantly attached to the gun, the case being detached when the cartridges were exhausted.

After securing United States and foreign patents covering his invention, Mr. Lee conveyed his rights to a joint stock company organized in Connecticut known as The Lee Arms Co., who undertook the manufacture of the arm at Bridgeport in that state.

That company was unsuccessful in its attempt to manufacture and introduce the gun, and, closing their works, entered into an agreement with the Remingtons by which they were to manufacture and sell under license with payment of royalty. This undertaking

involved the investment of a large sum in tools and fixtures, with a capacity for the production of 200 or more arms per day.

It is not my purpose to discuss the wisdom of this or other ventures made by the Remingtons, but it is proper to say in this connection that the fact that the government of Great Britain has since adopted the Lee gun, with some minor modifications, demonstrates that in this case their estimate of the merits of the arm were not in error.

Believing that this arm would find favor with the governments of the world, they proceeded to manufacture several thousand stands, but military authorities seemed to be in a waiting rather than a buying mood, induced in part by an unusual state of peace among the South American nations, and the result of the whole undertaking was disappointing with a serious drain upon their resources.

The limited and imperfect review I have made of the Remington industry from its incipency to its greatest development is sufficient to demonstrate to the candid critic of the management, that from first to last, conditions new and untried had to be dealt with, decisions of vast importance to be promptly made.

Nations had confided their destinies to their keeping, resting the powers of their armies for offense and defense, upon the effectiveness and durability of their arms, thus making them responsible for much to be recorded in the current history of the world.

In the conduct of this great business the Remingtons were without the light of experience, were not schooled in finance or diplomacy and, intensely burdened with the cares and responsibilities of the present, were unable clearly to solve the extremely difficult problems which the future presented.

During the sojourn of Samuel abroad as well as after his demise the burden of care and responsibility rested principally upon the shoulders of Philo, Eliphalet being led by his tastes as well as convictions of duty to devote much of his

time and energies to religious and philanthropic enterprises.

That serious mistakes were made will not be denied, but those who indulge in uncharitable criticism will do well to ask themselves if under such conditions they could have made as creditable a record.

In making statement of the motives which actuated Mr. Philo Remington during the later years of his business career, I write from the standpoint of a personal friend and confidant and without the necessity for resorting to theory or conjecture.

After the point was reached when the debts of corporation were liquidated and an ample surplus was in hand he told me that every selfish impulse prompted him to throw off the cares and responsibilities of business and spend the remainder of life in restful retirement, and that but one consideration prevented him from yielding to this impulse. A large village had grown up around their works, the inhabitants of which were dependent upon them for a livelihood, having invested their savings in homes there. In an endeavor to insure the future prosperity of these, he felt compelled by a sense of duty to labor on, and if need be to die in the harness.

Anticipating a decline in the demand for military arms he could see no way for the accomplishment of that for which he felt in duty bound to labor, except through a change from the manufacture of the implements of war to those of peace.

The effort to accomplish his noble purposes was marked by the introduction of the manufacture of various utensils to be used for domestic and business purposes, to which reference will be made hereafter. Some of these essays proved slightly remunerative others disastrously unprofitable. One, eminently successful, failed to attain full fruition during his life and serve as a reward for his persistent self sacrifice. But it can not be said that his efforts were in vain. The great Typewriter Works, the offspring of his endeavors, the finest manufacturing plant in Central New York and the pride of Ilion, has given to her

people that for which he wrought and to them a legacy of prosperity.

I have referred to the "Agricultural Works" which was a prominent industry in the village but was installed previous to the period just considered. The installation of this business and the erection of the plant was by a joint stock company incorporated Aug. 12, 1864, the first trustees being Philo Remington, Eliphalet Remington, D. D. Devoe, James Sayre, Henry H. Fish and Francis Kernan, the last three of Utica. The business of this company was to manufacture farm implements. The plant erected was extensive and the equipment elaborate. Making horse powers, the invention of Stewart Perry of Newport, and mowing machines under license from the Walter A. Wood Co., and the Sayre Cultivator tooth constituted the principal work during the first years with plows etc., as a minor department.

In 1865 Mr. Sayre resigned his position as trustee and was followed in 1866 by Secretary Fish. At the annual election on Jan. 24, 1866 John Dagwell, R. S. Williams, Francis Kernan and F. T. Woodford, of Utica, and Samuel and Philo Remington were elected, thus continuing the management largely in the hands of Utica parties.

From the first, results were disappointing and the business a losing one. The causes I shall not discuss further than to say that the rapid development of agriculture in the west carried with it the establishment there of factories with advantages as to freight and supplies of raw material so great as to place eastern manufactures almost outside of the range of successful competition. The Utica stock holders seeing little chance for escape from greater losses conveyed their interests to the Remington Brothers who assumed the indebtedness of the corporation and operated the works thereafter. The reputation of the standard implements, such as plows, cultivators, hoes, shovels, etc., which they made was always good and they doubtless afforded some profit but efforts in the line of new inventions which they were induced to make, more than offset

them and carried the profit and loss account to the bad. Notable among these was the so-called reversible mower the offspring of one J. F. Crawford, who succeeded in securing the confidence of the Remingtons in himself and his machine to an extent that probably \$350,000 would not cover their losses. The Scat-tergood Cotton Gin, an invention with apparent merits failed to realize expectations and helped swell the losses. The manufacture of iron bridges was also carried on and many fine structures erected, prominent among which were the one crossing the Mohawk river at Schenectady, which is 800 feet long, and locally, those crossing the river at Fort Herkimer and at Mohawk and Ilion. The works were kept in operation with continued efforts to introduce new and profitable lines of manufacture until April, 1886, when an assignment was made to Charles Harter by whom the plant was sold, and subsequently passed into the possession of the present owners, Wyckoff, Seamans & Benedict. During most of the time A. M. Ross had general charge of the manufacturing department, assisted at times by D. D. Devoe, John F. Thomas, Harrison Brand and others. The financial management during the Utica regime was by John C. Devereaux as treasurer and after by F. C. Shepard and others at the office of E. Remington & Sons.

Among the first and most important attempts to convert the armory into a manufactory of articles for domestic use was in the line of sewing machines. J. T. Jones, a successful inventor and former employee of the Singer Sewing Machine Company was employed and the tools and good will of a company operating elsewhere purchased. At that time the basal patents embraced in practical sewing machines were owned by a few companies in combination, and from these licenses bearing large royalties were obtained. Combining the invention of Jones with those acquired by license a machine was produced supposed to be practical and placed on the market through an elaborate system of agencies. The machine failed to justify

the expectations of its projectors and until in later times, after expensive changes and improvements, obtained no standing in the market.

At one time under the leadership of a man by the name of W. H. Hooper, a corporation was organized called "The Remington Sewing Machine Company of North America," for the purpose of exploiting and selling the machine. The Remingtons were the principal stock holders in this concern, but at their solicitation, blocks of stock were also taken by many of the business men of the village and by others outside. Hooper proved to be a visionary and impracticable man and after an extravagant expenditure in the equipment of offices and agencies the project fell through, the Remingtons shouldering the losses and refunding the subscriptions of outside stock holders. The manufacture of sewing machines, however, was not abandoned. Mr. Jones was relieved from his position and the work placed under the supervision of John Hoefler. Under his direction, improvements were made which placed it in the list of first-class machines. In the mean time the basal patents on sewing machines had expired and the field was opened for an almost ruinous competition which quickly followed, rendering the chances for profits exceedingly meagre.

In 1882, Messrs. Charles Harter, Addison Brill, John Hoefler, John V. Schmidt and O. B. Rudd formed a company called the "Remington Sewing Machine Agency," with Mr. Brill as manager and from that time all sales were made through their agency. This proved to be a practicable arrangement and one that if earlier adopted might have averted heavy losses.

In investigating the causes leading to the ultimate failure of the company, I found \$734,000.00 charged to profit and loss, and I have reason to believe other items not included make the loss on account of sewing machines a round sum of \$1,000,000.

The wonderful discoveries of the use of electricity for lighting the streets of cities and villages seemed to open a field

in which their facilities for manufacturing could be profitably employed and electricians were employed who devised dynamos and lamps together with the other appliances necessary to an equipment, and the required patterns and tools were made. The village of Ilion was partly lighted by an experimental plant within their works, with such effectiveness as to induce its adoption in Schenectady, Rome and Oswego, and in some villages, but in this as in the attempt to introduce their sewing machines, they were confronted with the opposition of the powerful Brush, Edison and other competitors and no permanent success rewarded their efforts. Profit and loss account again registered to the bad.

Omitting reference to other minor essays, the typewriter now engages our attention. In the year 1873, Mr. James Densmore, with whom George N. Yost was associated in some manner, came to Ilion to induce the Remingtons to enter into the manufacture of an instrument by that name, of which Densmore was in part inventor, and also controlled other patents used in the device. The typewriter he brought with him was crude in its construction, with its parts so disproportioned and poorly made that it barely served as the basis for a model which could be manufactured by machinery. But it would write, and embodied the fundamental characteristics of the machine now of world-wide fame and utility.

By many it was regarded as a plaything, with little prospect of ever becoming a necessity in the conduct of business correspondence or for engrossing legal documents.

The Remingtons after careful deliberation concluded that the merits of the invention warranted them in embarking in its manufacture and entered into a contract giving them the right to make and sell exclusively.

The work of remodeling and putting the machine into a practical and symmetrical form and adapting machinery and tools to its manufacture required much time and large expenditures. This work was confided largely to W. K. Jenne who

has superintended the manufacture to this date, and to whose practical genius it is indebted for many of its most meritorious features.

With this as with other products the most difficult problem was how to sell. The public must be convinced of its practicability and educated in its use. Liberal sums must be paid for advertising and agencies established and maintained at great cost. To be a good manufacturer is one thing; to be a good salesman, another, and very different qualification. Philo Remington, pre-eminently a manufacturer was without skill as a vendor, and his brother whose health was not good and whose wife was an invalid, had neither the time or endowment for an undertaking so difficult and extended.

After a period during which some machines were marketed through the agency of Fairbanks & Co., of New York, and the New York office of E. Remington & Sons, Clarence W. Seamans, son of A. C. Seamans of Ilion, and at one time a book keeper in their office, associated with himself W. O. Wyckoff of Ithaca, N. Y., and H. H. Benedict, then engaged in the Ilion office of the company, forming a partnership under the name of Wyckoff, Seamans & Benedict. This company entered into an agreement with the Remingtons by which they became the purchasers and sole vendors of the Remington typewriter. These gentlemen proved to be well fitted for such an undertaking and readily disposed of the then limited product of the works. This arrangement continued till the spring of 1886 when Wyckoff, Seamans & Benedict purchased the entire interests of E. Remington & Sons in the typewriter business.

As a part of the history of Ilion it is to be added that under the management of these enterprising men the typewriter has been introduced into every part of the civilized world, and has become a necessity in conducting every department of public, professional and business affairs.

This company manufactured typewriters for three years in buildings leased from E. Remington & Sons, and then removed to the plant of the former agricultural works on the north side of the canal which they purchased and equipped with a complete outfit of machinery and tools, especially adapted to their wants.

To the already extensive plant they have added an imposing brick factory, 7 stories in height, together with several auxiliary structures. This added space is not yet fully occupied but the equipment is most elaborate and convenient, and when complete will be second to no manufacturing establishment in the world. In every department great care has been taken to promote the comfort and well being of the employes while at work, and the sanitary arrangements are both elaborate and scientific. Notable in this department is an equipment of free baths for the use of the workmen. 16 spacious bath rooms enclosed with polished cypress furnished with porcelain tubs with nickel fixtures and supplied with hot and cold water are under the care of a special attendant whose duty it is to see that they are kept scrupulously clean. Here the workmen may cultivate the Godly virtue of cleanliness at their pleasure. Other sanitary conveniences of corresponding completeness are properly distributed through the works. In response to the generous efforts of the proprietors to promote the interests of the workmen a cheerful compliance is given to the rules requiring neatness and decorum on their part.

B. B. VanDeusen, the general manager has displayed great ability in executing the wishes of the proprietors in these regards and in organizing the various departments in such manner as to produce perfect harmony and efficiency. The present output is 100 improved typewriters per day with a working force of about 800 men.

With the business of the country now rapidly improving I risk little in promising that the coming year will witness a

swelling in the number of employes to 1,000.

With a full and hearty recognition of the great achievements of this company, let us not forget that none of these things were possible but for the beneficent purposes and efforts of the Remingtons.

Happily the privilege to be noble and generous is not exclusive. Clarence W. Seamans, with a liberality prompted by his patriotic regard for his native village in 1893 presented it with a beautiful "Free Public Library" building, erected at an expense of \$30,000. As the result of public subscriptions, supplemented by generous gifts of books by Mrs. Seamans and others, the library now contains about 10,000 volumes with a yearly circulation of 42,000 volumes.

The management is by a board of trustees appointed by the village authorities. The present incumbents being Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Seamans, James Conkling, B. B. VanDeusen, John A. Giblin and Misses Cornelia Seamans and Harriet E. Russell. Mr. Seamans also gives generous aid to other public institutions in the village.

Mr. Benedict, without the inspiration of nativity has won the gratitude of the people of Ilion by large gifts of money, notably to the Presbyterian and Baptist churches, enabling both to own fine churches free from debt.

But regard for your patience bids me hasten to close this paper, with a record of events relating to the waning career of the Remingtons.

The undertakings to which I have referred rapidly depleted their treasury and reduced them to the ranks of debtors. Various schemes were resorted to in order to bridge them over what was hoped to be temporary difficulties. Among them were the issuance of bonds as security for loans. Another and more hurtful expedient was the introduction of what was known as "the order system" by which employes were permitted to purchase their supplies of the merchants, giving in payment orders on the company, who in return, issued their notes payable in one, two or three

months. This, like all other unsound financial methods simply wrought confusion and financial disorder.

Not anticipating such a reversal of conditions, both Philo and Eliphalet had felt at liberty to make disposition of the large sums received from the dividends referred to, much of which was devoted to educational, philanthropic and religious institutions (notably to the Syracuse University.) Some large investments were also made which brought no returns. Philo was also seriously embarrassed by yielding to the solicitations of W. S. King of Minneapolis for financial aid involving large amounts just at the time when he most needed all his available resources for the protection of his own interests. The reward he received for his self-sacrifice was an illustration of selfish ingratitude which my pen is incompetent to depict. With their private resources thus depleted they were not in a condition to relieve the situation by the use of personal means.

Apparently bewildered by their environment they entrusted their financial management to John Brown who, less competent than themselves, led them in a kiting down hill race.

Just then, hopes were revived by the appearance of Turkey in the market as a negotiator for 600,000 stands of infantry arms. Her experts had reported favorably upon the Remington Lee magazine rifle and hopes were indulged that the contract could be obtained and thereby the company extricated from its financial stress. Seeking thereby to liquidate the most pressing demands and gain time for obtaining more permanent relief, even in March 1886 they sold all their interest in the typewriter business to Wyckoff, Seamans & Benedict as heretofore stated, receiving therefor I think \$186,000. This move failed in its purposes. Some creditors were paid from this fund; all wanted to be.

At this juncture Mr. John J. Hannas came to the front with a scheme for an extension. While his scheme was deemed chimerical by some, and of doubtful practicability by others, the company determined to try it, and in

pursuance thereof, conveyed a majority of their capital stock to a committee consisting of Addison Brill, John L. McMillan and myself, who were to assume the management of the business, while Mr. Hannas was to secure assent from the creditors to an extension. A few days sufficed to terminate that essay. Creditors refused to be put off, demanding immediate payment, and failing to realize, they resorted to legal methods. But one course remained and this was promptly taken. Mr. Brill and myself by the choice or Mr. Remington were by Justice Pardon C. Williams of the supreme court made temporary and later permanent receivers of the estate, with Thomas Richardson as counsel. Creditors were restrained from farther proceedings and after a careful survey of the existing conditions the court was asked to order the receivers to operate the works and to make and execute contracts. Arrangements were made with Hartley & Graham of New York, by which they took a leading part in the negotiations with Turkey which at times gave promise of success. The co-operation of the party who controlled the previous contract to the discomfort of the Remingtons was secured and success seemed at hand. At this juncture German influences became active in the interests of the German Manufacturer Mauser. The German minister at that court actively engaged in Mauser's behalf, while owing to the vacancy caused by the death of the United States minister S. S. Cox, we had no counteracting influences. So Mauser carried off the prize.

Thence nothing was left for the receivers but to execute such minor orders as might be secured, complete work in progress, realize on assets and wind up the business of the company. Two years elapsed before the plant was sold and owing to vexatious litigation, four more, before the final closing of the work and discharge of the receivers. The works were sold at auction to Hartley & Graham in March 1888 for the sum of \$200,000. Since that time they have operated them under the corporate name

of the "Remington Arms Co.," and have continued the manufacture of small arms, but have never secured large governmental contracts. They have, however, made bicycles in large numbers and have employed a force varying from 500 to 1,000 men.

The assets of the corporation as shown by an inventory based upon cost with liberal deductions for supposed depreciation were \$1,711,788.94 with liabilities amounting to \$1,255,703.27 about \$450,000 of which was secured by hypothecated goods and \$65,000 was due for labor, leaving an apparent surplus of \$456,080.67. From such an exhibit the natural conclusion would be that all liabilities could be met. But here comes the difficulty; guns and pistols were not staple commodities like cotton cloth or pig iron. The market was limited and purchasers could fix their own prices. So also with the plant; there were no anxious competitors for its purchase and it had to be sold for a nominal sum.

The receivers were able to pay the labor accounts in full and in the main the secured creditors from the goods pledged. Upon all unsecured claims the payment was 36 per cent. Thus, after nearly 70 years of life" closed a business which has seldom been paralleled as to the period of its existence or the magnitude of its operations.

Let not the clouds of misfortune or mistakes of the last, obscure the vision from the masterly achievements of former days.

Philo Remington saw the control of the great business pass into other hands without a murmur, and cheerfully rendered the receivers all the aid in his power in their endeavors to administer the estate in the interest of creditors and of the people, with whom, and for whom, he had labored so incessantly. But the sudden relaxation was more damaging to an overtaxed system than continued activity. In the winter of 1888-89 accompanied by his wife, he visited Florida hoping that a milder climate would aid in the recovery of waning health. For a time it was thought that this would be realized but

on the 4th day of April at Silver Springs and without premonition his generous heart ceased to beat. His stricken companion with his remains made her cheerless journey to their home, where impressive funeral services were held conducted by the pastor of his church assisted by former pastors and those of other denominations in the village.

The house and spacious grounds were crowded with the people of his own and surrounding villages who joined the sad procession as he was carried by former employes to his last resting place in the village cemetery. Never was man more sincerely respected in life or mourned in death.

The personality of Philo Remington was peculiarly attractive. In stature he was above the medium with every physical feature well developed. A massive head crowned with a luxuriant growth of waving black hair which lost none of its beauty as time tinged it with silvery gray and white, gave harmony to the physical endowment. A sympathetic nature beamed through kindly expressive eyes, with which every facial delineation was in harmony.

Modest and unassuming in his manners he led without pomp and controlled without force. With wonderful equipoise and self control he maintained alike in prosperity and adversity an unruffled temper and the bearing of the true gentleman.

In politics Mr. Remington like his father was first a whig and afterwards a republican. For many years he was president of the village, but aside from this he neither sought nor held office. His life was an exemplification of consistent Christian character, with a membership in the Methodist Episcopal church, to the interests of which he contributed with unstinted generosity.

On December 28, 1841 Philo Remington married Miss Caroline A. Lathrop who survives him and resides in Iliou. Their children were Ida, wife of Watson C. Squire, and Ella, now the wife of Howard C. Furman of New York City. Mr. and Mrs. Squire have two sons, Philo R. of New York City and Shirley

of Seattle, Wash., and two daughters, Aidine and Marjorie, at present residing with their grandmother at Ilion.

Ella has been twice married, first to E. P. Greene of Amsterdam, N. Y., who died in December, 1876, leaving three sons, Frederick Remington, William Kimball and Harry P., now deceased.

Eliphalet, the only surviving member of the family whose business history I have so imperfectly sketched still resides in his native village.

As has been seen he was less prominent than his brothers in the management of the business.

A zealous Christian he has devoted much of his time and means to the advancement of the cause of education and of temperance and religion.

Like his brother he possesses a fine physique and pleasing manners. He enjoys to an unusual degree the respect and esteem of all who know him. If I am privileged to name his greatest

fault, it is that in his zeal in behalf of others he is too forgetful of his own interests.

His marriage was to Catharine, daughter of Louis Stevens of Ilion. They have two daughters, Jessie, now Mrs. Wm. I. Calder of Harrisburg and Bertha, wife of T. Elliott Patterson of Philadelphia, Pa., and one son, Philo, married and living in New York City.

I have already made this paper so voluminous as to forbid an attempt to bring the history of the village of Ilion up to date. Suffice it to say that the present population is about 5,000 and is slowly increasing. The proximity of the villages of Frankfort, Mohawk and Herkimer which are connected with it by an electric street railroad enables many of the workmen employed to reside in those places and to that extent retards the growth of Ilion, which if isolated would doubtless have attained a fifty per cent. larger growth.

TWO HISTORIC HOUSES IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

AN ADDRESS BY MRS. M. B. HEDGES, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, May 11, 1897.

In much of our patriotic talk about the past of our country a curious assumption crops out. It is that the people who colonized this country were as new as the country itself. The records of their past before coming here seem colorless to us.

Pilgrims and Puritans, into whose blood the rigorous climate and rocky shores of New England put iron; cavaliers sons or idle commoners, whom the softer airs of Virginia and the South molded into aristocratic plantation monarchs or "po white trash."

This is not a true view. Men change their skies, not themselves. We put too high value on climate and environment. The process of evolution through their means is age long. The men who came to these shores, Spanish, French, English or Dutch brought with them the ideas of their kind, the traditions of their fathers, the aspirations of their natures. With whatever has resulted from the necessities of their position, the wars which they inherited and helped carry on, the mixture of races that ensued, with all after these things, that makes the American of today, we are not now dealing. We are looking backward—and not around or before us. We have chosen to turn a page of past history that we may put ourselves in the mood for a little wandering and

sight seeing in our lovely "Vale of the Mohawk" and for the story of two of the historic houses associated with the name of Sir William Johnson.

Our interest is not with the houses alone. Others in the country are older and far more imposing. When you consider that the primeval forest had to be hewed away from the limestone beds, and roads had to be constructed over almost impassible wilds to get the stones in place, they are wonderful, but then one appreciates the exclamation of Molly Brant's granddaughter, who after the Revolution returned to gaze on her lost inheritance and Johnson Hall.

"How have I lied about this house," she exclaimed. "I have always boasted that there were none as big nor fine in Montreal. Why! there are whole streets full bigger and far finer."

Our interest lies not then with the houses but with the founder of these houses and the stirring events of our history which transpired within and around them.

No man can now come into this valley at the age of twenty-two and lay the foundations of a vast fortune on an estate surpassing in size any European noble's demesne.

No man living here will be consulted by the rulers of two of the Great Powers, or kindle on his home hearth the council

fires of six powerful wild nations, represented by chiefs of bright untamed and unguided intelligence.

Such a career Macaulay should have outlined as companion piece to that of Warren Hastings in India.

New lands, or newly gained possessions alone afford scope for such spirits. In tamer times of peace and of opportunity to small men, there is no room for the adventure, the rude hewn statesmanship, the powerful individual control, the fierce magnetism of such men.

Sir William Johnson dealt with conditions forever passed as regards this valley, vast tracts of virgin soil, fertile, or forested, not wholly ignoble wild peoples, old world politics bringing their clashing into a new arena.

What he was he brought here from that Old World; what he did became part of the history of the New.

As a forceful man who deeply impressed himself upon the very body of our Provincial time, who, perhaps, decided the question of New France or New England and New York, who made it is claimed, the opportunity for this state to become early an Empire State, we must be strongly interested in Johnson.

We do not judge him as a home staying Irish Englishman of the eighteenth century. He has no resemblance to any American possible in this valley at the present time. His character and deeds must be examined in connection with the life imposed by the conditions about him and we must turn a few historic leaves before we come properly to the story of his historic houses.

The characters of public men in any age are proverbially subjects of dispute. That of Johnson is not an exception. His friends have lauded his services to the country and his use of his power over the Indians, till he looms in biography a figure of heroic mould. His enemies, on the contrary, have maligned his motives, exposed the blots on his life, magnified his weaknesses and accused him of every crime, even of that least plausibly alleged, disloyalty to the

interests of the Province and gross self seeking.

The ignorant have confounded the lines of his life and policy with those widely differing of his son, Sir John Johnson and produced a monster, which neither friend nor enemy can recognize. Something of this latter spirit, it is said, informs the traditions which still linger about the neighborhood of his residence during life.

For succinctness and absence of harsh judicial comment one finds of value the following from the late Francis Parkman's "France and England in North America." The subject is the expedition against Crown Point, in the old French war, over which General Shirley appointed Mr. Johnson commander. The historian says:

"He had never seen service and knew nothing of war. By birth he was Irish of good family, being nephew of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, who owning extensive wild lands on the Mohawk had placed the young man in charge of them nearly twenty years before. Johnson was born to prosper. He had ambition, energy and an active mind, a tall, strong person, a rough jovial temper and a quick adaptation to his surroundings. He could drink flip with Dutch boors or madeira with royal governors. He liked the society of the great, would intrigue and flatter when he had an end to gain, and foil a rival, without looking too closely at the means; but compared with the Indian traders who infested the border, he was a model of uprightness. He lived by the Mohawk in a fortified house, which was a stronghold against foes and a scene of hospitality for friends, both white and red.

Here, for his tastes were not fastidious, presided for many years a Dutch or German wench whom he finally married; and, after her death, a young Mohawk squaw took her place. Over his neighbors, the Indians of the Five Nations, and all others with whom he had to deal, he acquired a remarkable influence. He liked them, adopted their ways and treated them kindly or sternly as the case required, but always with a justice

and honesty in strong contrast with the the rascalities of the commissions of Albany traders, who had lately managed their affairs and whom they so detested that one of their chiefs called them "not men, but devils". Hence when Johnson was made Indian superintendent there was joy through all the Iroquois confederacy. When, in addition, he was made a general, he assembled the warriors in council to engage them to aid the expedition.

This meeting took place at his own house known as Fort Johnson and as more than eleven hundred Indians appeared at his call, his larder was sorely taxed to entertain them.

The speeches were interminable, Johnson, a master of Indian rhetoric, knew his audience too well not to contest with them the palm of insufferable prolixity. The climax was reached on the fourth day and he threw down the war belt. An Oneida chief took it up; Stevens the interpreter, began the war dance, and the assembled warriors howled in chorus. Then a tub of punch was brought in and they all drank the King's health."

In this summation of Johnson's life and affairs all is touched upon, but much needs a further word. The council described was in 1755, twenty years since Johnson, it is said, driven by the pangs of love forbidden by his father, had come to this new country and after spending a short time with his uncle at the historic house, number one, Broadway, had begun his career in the Mohawk valley, at first as his uncle's land agent. He was at this time about forty, in the prime of his power and influence. From being the boy agent of his uncle he had become settler, planter, builder of houses, forts, churches, towns; Indian superintendent for the province and general over its white and Indian troops.

The conclusion of this very battle of Lake George, which he had divested of its French name, Lake St. Sacrament in order to pay court to his English majesty, gave the king occasion to confer on him a baronetcy and a fortune of 5,000 pounds.

After this time he lived in true baronial style. If his tastes were not fastidious in the matter of sharers of his domesticity, chroniclers of that day speak highly of the sense and womanly charm of Mary, sister of the famous Brant. Her presence in his household was a measure of policy towards his Mohawk allies. As such it was successful preventing marauding and bloodshed. He speaks in his will of his beloved wife, mother of his three white children. His son, John ennobled and enriched by the King of England, played the part of tory in the war of the revolution. The choice was a sharp test of a man, on one side seemed power and stability on the other upheaval with possible death and ruin imminent. No one could then declare his choice fortunate. Sir John chose the part of self and the odium was reflected on his father whose life ceased on the day in which it is conjectured, he had received dispatches from England that would compel him to declare himself for the king from whom he had received benefits, or for a country as yet not defined nor consolidated, in whose pioneer scenes he had taken so prominent a part. What his decision would have been does not entirely appear from any papers he has left, but we like to think from his ready and bold attitude in emergencies, the integrity of his conclusions and the fearless good sense of his measures, that he would not have been found wanting.

His daily life is set down at large in his letters and diaries now placed in the New York State Library at Albany. He was a man of affairs. The felling of trees and clearing of vast tracts of land was done under his supervision. The hammer of the builder was never quiet through the length and breadth of his vast estate, nor the axe of the settler and the great natural maize lands of the valley, cause of the superiority of the Indians of the Long House, were furrowed for the sowing under his direction. Almost any one of his days at any period of his life in our valley would unfold a story of unmatched novelty and prodigal energy. This is equally true whether you select the seventeen years from 1738

to '55, when he was land agent, Indian trader and superintendent of Indian affairs for the province, or the next thirteen, when general over the allied forces in the old French war, or from '63 to '74 when, after building for himself his last and most stately mansion and while occupying himself in teaching, pacifying and civilizing his Indians, he died after a long exhausting conference with their chiefs.

Fancy yourself his guest at some time in these thirty six eventful years. These years during which it was settled whether we should now or not be speaking French in our erstwhile Dutch State. Many guests were entertained at Johnson Hall in the time of the "Brown Lady Johnson." Lady, by courtesy, clear-eyed, quick-witted Indian squaw in verity.

Ladies of gentle English birth and stainless breeding did not disdain the hospitalities of the Valley Baron, though his domestic arrangements were known to be those of a wild-wood Bohemia. Imagine yourself one of these. You might write thus to a friend in the home across the water so diverse from that now sheltering you :

PROVINCE OF NEW YORK, AMERICA.

The night of my arrival here was starlit and Sir William, who is greatly fond of astronomy, took me to a gentle height above his house to point out the constellations glowing in the keener, clearer air of these western skies.

These few moments of leisure were, however, snatched from him by the arrival of a tumultuous mob of Indians, savage, wiry, boisterous, accompanied by the glare of torches and barking of dogs. They brought news of a quarrel, a battle, the death of a chief and displayed a bloody scalp taken as scot for his loss. They saluted Sir William with cries of "Warra, Warra," an abbreviation for Werraghara, one who superintends or cares for, his Indian name.

The task of pacifying them, of separating and housing in bark lodges or open camp, the rank and file of the rout and bringing the chiefs into the great hall of the mansion: of ordering food and ale,

great pewter platters of steaming meat and huge pewter tankards of foaming drink and having the same served with unstinted hospitality, yet with considered caution, separated my host from me for the rest of the evening. In the library I was joined by the Brown Lady, as they call her, for whom Sir William exacts due observance and indeed in the charm of spirit and intelligence she is worthy of it. She soon excused herself on the plea of household duty but I imagine that her aid with the Indians is of value to Sir William. In one corner of the library were piled, what do you imagine? huge bundles of skins, pelts of wolves, beaver, fox and of many a soft brown gliding forest thing unknown to me. When, afterward I begged from Sir William an explanation of this strange furniture of a library, he said they had just been brought in by his boslopers, or forest runners, white men who with great skill and swiftness gather in the spring the fruits of the Indian winter hunting and bring them here where they are packed for the coast towns, or even London and the West Indies. I am told that these pelts pay twenty times the cost of getting and marketing them.

I did not sleep heavily in this forest mansion beleaguered by dusky forms. I looked out at their camp-fires and heard the guttural tones of their sentinels and, I am bound to add of savage roisterers.

I was told in the morning that, during the night, swift runners had arrived to tell Sir William of a fight between the Iriquois and hated Abenakis and had been heard, refreshed and dispatched with orders and advice within an hour from their arrival. I breakfasted abundantly, even daintily, fresh fish from the rivers and game from the forest and my host constantly urged some rare old wine to give me courage to see from a shadowed landing of the staircase my first Iriquois or Mohawk council.

Grave were the chiefs and solemn silence prevailed for a long time in the great hall. In silence also the pipe went round from mouth to mouth. Although

prepared, I scarcely could recognize my host, painted, plumed and dressed in Indian costume as is his wont on important occasions. Sir William spoke first briefly, then a chief arose. He spoke heavily at first, but warming, threw off his duffle blanket, gesticulated, shrieked, tears even ran down his cheeks, a rare occurrence, they say, his brother chiefs groaned aloud, sadly he proffered a belt of purple wampum to Sir William. Suddenly another brave sprang to his feet. His voice rang like a trumpet call to war. Here and there others sprang up as if in response. There was a clash of sound from their savage harness. He too, presented belts of wampum at every change in his intonations, each belt sign and seal of a compact or proof of his story. His speech was long, fiery, tumultuous. At its close I found myself with clenched bands and beating heart. We are not used to be so stirred in our languid London life.

Sir William rejoined, he clasped hands with the chiefs, his interpreter also brought out strings and belts of wampum. A belt was thrown violently on the floor. At this signal a wild chorus of unearthly cries arose and the whole party, Sir William at the head, burst into a vigorous war dance.

Afterwards as huge flagons, ankers and kegs were brought into the hall I made my escape. These people are children but there is in their manner of life something touching and heart-appealing such as belong to children whom we pity and would help.

This morning the last of the wild procession disappeared, some under the near forest trees, some toward the road that leads to the Mohawk River, up which they will go in canoes and batteaux.

Sir William, himself again, has just been showing me, as he gave audience to a number of masons and builders, his plans for churches, parsonages, schools and schoolmaster's house, inns, court house and coopershops, all of which he is building. Presently he will show me details about dividing this great county of Albany, making treaties and receiv-

ing a visit from the governor and his suite. Then he will lay aside all these state concerns and bring me some flowers from his spacious and beautifully kept garden, will show me some specimens of plants, which he has preserved, he is as accomplished as a botanist as he is as astronomer, or packets of rare seeds lately received from London.

While he is called away by business I amuse myself by looking over his numerous philosophical works or the Gentlemen's Magazine, Reviews and London newspapers or by walking in the grounds filled with choice shrubbery brought from over seas.

Never knew I such a man, like a seven-heated furnace consuming all fuel with impartial ardor and glowing with the fires of ceaseless energies.

No two days are alike here for the swift chances of the savage life of the Six Nations have to be met at every turn, as well as the pressure of negotiation between Indians and English, reconciling the swift, fierce hate of one side with the calm delays of the other, and it were enough for most men's activities to fill the part sustained by Sir William toward his neighbors of deciding the extent and bounds of their purchased tracts and whether or not the Indians have molested their rights by passing through, or using their lands. Meanwhile he gives ear to the petition on behalf of his flock, of every struggling minister of God and a liberal hand to all that need help.

As I am obliged to wait until Sir William's mail is made up and he has an opportunity to dispatch it, you must imagine some time passed since what you have read was written and I continue my letter in diary form.

Last Sunday we set out in Sir William's coach and six for the church at his new town of Johnstown, built by himself and said to be the "gentleest church in the Province." All the dwellers in this town in the wilderness are his tenants or employed by him.

The school which was built for the education of Molly Brant's children is free to Indians and all. The parsonage yard

is planted with trees and shrubs brought by Sir William from England. The minister came out of its door in gown and bands as we drove up. He was followed by some little Indian children, whom he had been catechising. I was placed in Sir William's canopied pew which overflowed, his Brown Lady and her brood of nine being all in attendance.

A door as wide as the entrance to a barn was a novel feature in the side of the church and during the service Indian men went in and out of this door or lounged against its posts, for the Indians are impatient of restraint and the sitting posture of attention. Outside Indian children played around the few tombstones yet erected in the church yard. Opposite was the pew Sir William has had erected for the king's majesty. It is handsomely canopied and crowned and, of course, no one ever occupies it.

The distractions and noise were so great as I never before heard in a place of public worship, but Sir William will not have the Indians restrained against their natures and gains them so, but I could scarcely copy his devout and hearty manner in prayers which he read from a sumptuous book. It is part of his influence with his forest children to have everything about him of the very best.

After service, the minister, the doctor and some friends of Sir William went back to the hall with us, most of them in their own carriages, though some were on horseback. Dinner was, as usual at six, every one in full dress, a surprising variety of meats and wines, a dwarf, whom Sir William calls "Billy" enlivening us with music from a corner perch against the wainscot and two dwarfish white waiters in livery assisted by a number of black slaves as servers. There was a chief or two at the table but fewer Indians than I have seen about before.

Sir William is now writing to his bookseller in London with whom he has a standing order for all new books, and if you fear miscarriage you may send your packet to him to be inclosed to the hall. Sir William has insatiable appetite

for philosophical books. One of his blockhouses, of which there are two, one on either side of the house, is full of philosophical apparatus. He showed me an underground passage to the blockhouses to be used in case of danger. Tomorrow we go with a large party of guests to his elegant house on the Sacandaga called Fish House where he has a shooting cottage in a spot where wild duck abound. I must now close this long epistle with my duty to your honorable mother and my respects to yourself and the other members of your household.

We turn from this possible correspondence in which we have tried to look into the life of an eighteenth century provincial household of distinction to follow the history of Sir William Johnson's remaining days. Troublous times for the young province were now impending.

Sir William's health had for years been undermined and the bullet received at Lake George caused at times intense suffering. His faithful Mohawks bore him on their shoulders through the Adirondack forests to a healing spring which they alone knew. There they built him a bark lodge and tenderly nursed him while taking and bathing in the water. Thus he inaugurated Saratoga and made the virtues of its waters known to the civilized world. Although still a sick man when misfortune had overtaken his Indians he listened to their distressful complaints and appointed a day of July for what proved his last meeting with them.

Readers of history will remember that the conduct of the notorious Cresap and other land agents and the murders of the famous Chiefs, Logan and Bald Eagle were the occasions of this famous council.

Nearly six hundred Indians were assembled at the hall. Saturday the 9th of July, 1774, was occupied in laying their grievances before their "brother." Sunday was passed without conference, but on Monday at ten o'clock the baronet began his speech. It was fervid, but temperate, bidding them refrain from out-

rage and wait for justice of which he assured them. For two hours he spoke earnestly and they listened intently in a broiling sun. Then the last pipes were smoked, the meeting parted to give their reply on the morrow and Sir William retired to his library—to die.

The council were overwhelmed with sorrow and turned at once to Sir John Johnson for a conclusion of their business. His father's burial took place on Wednesday and was attended by about two thousand persons besides the assembled Indians and distinguished provincial dignitaries.

The Indian ceremonies of condolence took place the following day with marks of the deepest sorrow and many belts of wampum were given and received. Sir Guy Johnson, the Baronet's son-in-law took upon himself the conclusion of the Indian business. The body of the Baronet was placed in the ample vault he had built for himself and his family under the chancel of his church at Johnstown.

His will made six months before his death was opened according to English custom. Besides the fervent ascription with which it begins this significant sentence illumines his character. I do earnestly recommend my son to show lenity to such of my tenants as are poor, and an upright conduct to all mankind, which will on reflection afford more satisfaction to a noble and generous mind than greatest opulence. But evidences of great opulence were not wanting. Over 170,000 acres of land and large sums of money besides houses and their holdings and other valuable property such as two miles "about the entire salt lake, Onondaga, where now Syracuse and other cities stand were devised by this will which covers thirteen pages. The larger part of the land was King's land, given him by the king, and his heirs were enjoined never to alienate it.

But the provisions of this will were never carried out. In less than two years the cloud of war had burst, the son, sons-in-law, the brown lady and her brood and many adherents of the Johnson family had been swept before it into volun-

tary exile in Canada and the whole glorious edifice of colossal fortunes lay in the dust under the trampling feet of gathering armies. Never was there such complete and final overthrow. Sir John Johnson's return and march of hate, revenge and massacre through the valley made his tory name infamous and reflected dishonor on his father.

An anecdote heard in my late visit to Johnstown from an old man whose still more aged informant died last winter, furnishes a fitting pendant to this historic picture.

This aged man remembered that in his boyhood during the period when St. John's church was for a time neglected and ruinous, he and his school mates were in the habit of getting through an aperture which gave access to the vault where Sir William's coffin had been placed. The lead envelope of the coffin had been stripped from it at some time in the Revolutionary war and moulded into serviceable bullets.

At every spring and fall high-water of the Cayadutta, the vault would fill and the grim bark would rise and float to the great but secret delight of the young navigators. When the water subsided the coffin would rest again. When the church was repaired after the first fire it was moved so that the chancel vault lay outside the building. The coffin by this time ruinous was enclosed with the remains in a new case, except the lid with Sir William's initials and date of birth and death on it in brass nails according to use at that time. The vault was then filled up and the lid hung in the chancel to perish in the second fire which destroyed the interior of the church.

Until 1863 the grave remained unmarked. Then its site was settled and marked at the four corners by low marble posts. The first Bishop Potter, of New York, held appropriate services beside it and a small rectangular slab of gray marble inclined to the ground, bears the name and dates, waiting further action of Sir William's brother masons, fellow churchmen, descendants, or patriotic markers of historic spots.

Was ever a story of overthrow more complete, more epical. From a royal province to a great free state, from one feudal domain to many farms, home steadings, villages, towns and cities, from assured fortunes, rank and honor to exile and infamy, from stately sepulture brought low to furnish grim sport for holiday school boys. Such changes are retold in history in many phases, but never do they cease to appal us with images of the instability of all things.

We turn with relief to everyday life and the little jaunt for the inspection of the two best known resident houses of the great provincial.

Fort Johnson or Mount Johnson, at Akin, three miles east of Amsterdam is a large house built of limestone now dark with age. It stands a few paces back from the great "Four Track" road on sunken ground covered by a leaning, ungraceful growth of old locusts and black walnuts. Behind is the low-browed stone barn, often occupied by Indian guests and to the rear rises above the roofs a green broken hill covered with the same dark leaning growth, behind the house are now mills on the hill foot and by the banks of the Chucuntunda which courses towards the nearby Mohawk forming the eastern boundary of the grounds. The stir of young life coming and going over those sunken grassy lawns overshadowed by grim boughs may make the spot cheerful but in itself it is a most dismal place seen in a cloudy day of spring.

There are now no traces of block houses or of the old log fort which stood on the mount.

Compared to Johnson hall the place is quite unchanged and gloomy enough to bring from the past images of shouting savages and echoes of wild war whoops. The family of Mr. Aikin, who resides there in summer, not having yet arrived, I could not see the interior but after having seen that of Johnson Hall I imagine that I lost little on that account.

Mr. Griffis in his "Makers of America" thus describes Fort Johnson "probably the only edifice of cut stone west of the

Hudson at that time. It is 2½ stories high; its dimensions 64x34 feet, the walls from foundation to garret are two feet thick, there is not today a flaw in them, nor has there ever been a crack. The roof, now of slate, was previously of shingles and at first of lead which was used for bullets in the Revolution. Around the house he planted a circle of locust trees, two or three of which remain." (His plantations may be the progenitors of the locusts seen everywhere in the valley) "His gristmill stood on the Chucuntunda creek which flowed through his grounds." I found Akin a little hamlet of perhaps twenty houses. The oldest resident said that its name should be Fort Johnson or Johnson but the other old inhabitant said somewhat tartly that he did not care a darn what you call it, but then he was locking up his post office at about 5 p. m. from which some idlers, dispossessed by his action, were strolling slowly away. What could you expect of a man jaded by the heavy responsibilities of postal business at Akin.

Both old inhabitants were doubtful as to a possible cup of tea, thought perhaps I might get it at the tavern, but the uncertainty prevented my making an untimely demand on the resources of the place.

As I sat sketching upon the low stone fence that encloses Fort Johnson a woman passed me wearing shears at her side in the old tailoress fashion. Everything about Akin seemed primitive. One could scarcely imagine the bustle of the bygone days when "Johnson's Mohawk Valley Flour" was barrelled here and shipped to the West Indies and Nova Scotia and when twenty or thirty men in the guard house on the hill were ready to descend to the help of the young settlement if needed.

The Rev. Washington Frothingham, familiarly and affectionately known in Fonda and Johnstown as Dominic Frothingham, and said to be authority on all matters of valley history, told me that Fort Johnson was least changed of all the historical buildings attributed to Sir William. Earlier

in the day I had visited Johnstown, a busy, cheerful city of about 25,000 inhabitants situated about nine miles back from the Central railroad in the folds of rolling hills and on the banks of the Cayadutta creek which gives power to numerous lumber, furniture and glove making factories. The creek is sometimes lined with skins of deer and other animals lying along its banks to bleach, for Johnstown, Gloversville and the country about are the largest glove manufacturing places in the world. It is from this locality that we get our "gants de Paris", even when we carefully bring them over and duly pay duty upon them.

It was this bright, tumbling, rushing stream of the hills that decided the location of Johnstown in the sagacious mind of our Baronet miller.

Here he passed the last years of his life still powerful in Indian affairs, but with leisure to build many mansions, Guy Park and the houses at Sacandaga and Broadalbin. Here he laid deep the foundations of family and fortune so soon to crumble.

Johnson Hall is changed almost beyond recognition of who looks at the early prints. Shutters, porticos and bay windows have destroyed the ancient features of the old spacious Manor House.

Mrs. Wells, whose late husband's family have occupied it for nearly a hundred years, bears the nuisance of living in a house subject to the constant intrusion of strangers, in a most courteous spirit. The wide old fireplaces are gone, gone the loophole and underground passages, but the heavy hewn beams of the garret, the mahogany stair-rail, hacked its entire length by the hatchet, it is said, of Brandt, and the rich wainscoting remain. Also the five old poplars still soar in sight from Johnstown and the circle of black twisted ancient elfin lilacs of Sir William's planting. These poplars, like lumber piles on end and these elfin twisted lilacs were fresh in bud as any May, after their century and a quarter.

After leaving Johnson Hall I visited St. John's church which after two fires still preserves in its walls its original cut stone brought from Tribes' Hill quarry.

The Black Horse tavern is now a tenement on private grounds. The jail on a commanding hill, once the old fort with its newly pointed masonry and its smart sheriff's residence looks of today.

The court house, once of Tryon county and whose first presiding judge was Col. Guy Johnson, seems not very ancient and houses the collection of the Historical Society.

The leading photographer had no photographs of especial historic interest. One anecdote gleaned from an old gentleman seemed rather interesting. Although Sir William was an Episcopalian he had the good sense considering the interests of his diversely thinking tenants to make his church edifice as well as his school free to all. This led in after times to the Presbyterians in good faith, no doubt, claiming the ownership of the edifice. A lawyer brought the suit to a close by showing that as the original church possessed an organ then considered by the plaintiffs a "devil's kist of whistles" it could not have belonged to them. This same old gentleman characterized Sir William as just a loafer fond of rum and rustic sports such as pig and pole greasing, etc.

At Fonda I visited the reverend historian of the valley mentioned before. He was most kind and next to his own pleasant old colonial mansion pointed out that of Jelles Fonda, a historic house. From the cars in returning I saw many, among them Guy Park, General Herkimer's house, the very interesting Palatine stone church and across the river, Fort Herkimer. The material of history lies thickly along the triple roads of steel, water and ancient road to Albany that divide this valley. It should be gathered, classified and stored without further delay.

SLAVERY IN THE COLONY AND STATE OF NEW YORK.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, October 12, 1897.

Slavery in some form formerly existed among all nations. History does not carry us back to a time when it did not exist. It must have had its origin about as early as domestic animals were subdued and forced to aid and facilitate the labors of man.

Negroes were brought to this country from Africa and the West Indies and introduced as slaves into the earliest settlements. The Dutch and English, sovereigns, cabinet ministers, traders, pirates, and all kind of adventurers, and even a city in its corporate capacity became interested in the slave trade and derived profits therefrom.

I have not been able to find that slavery was ever established anywhere by positive law. It certainly never was declared right by any statute. It was based upon might, and had the sanction of force for its existence. It did not owe its origin to, or depend for its existence, in any state of this country, upon any statute law. Down to near the beginning of this century, negro slavery was recognized and tolerated by the common law and customs of nations. It was not introduced into the colony of New York by statute. It simply came here under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company, and then was recognized and regulated by ordinances and statutes. It was the constant policy of

the Dutch, as afterwards of the English government, to encourage the importation of slaves as much as possible. The leading merchants of the city of New York were engaged in the slave trade which was regarded as strictly respectable and honorable.

The Dutch West India Company was organized by the States General of Holland in 1621 with almost unlimited power. It was a trading and colonizing company and was clothed with sovereign power of legislation. It was given jurisdiction of the province of New York and other territories, and it bought Manhattan Island from the Indians for twenty-four dollars. A large share of its business was the African slave trade. The early emigrants to this province from Holland were generally persons not willing to engage, in common, manual labor. They were principally traders, adventurers, sailors and speculators in pursuit of sudden fortunes in a new land. Hence for many years after the settlement of the province there was a lack of servants; and to supply this lack, the West India Company introduced slavery first in 1629. There was constant complaint by the Patroons and other inhabitants that there were not slaves enough. In 1634 the West India Company instructed its subordinates to furnish to each Patroon twelve black

men and women "for the advancement of the colonies in New Netherlands;" and in 1640, to exert themselves "to provide the Patroons and colonists on their order with as many blacks as possible." In 1647, the Chambers of Account of the West India Company complained that "jobbers and Jews" bought up slaves for cash and sold them for an advance upon credit at one per cent. per month, the slaves being hypothicated to them for their purchase price: Pirates, engaged in the slave trade, brought their slaves here for sale in the open market.

During the Dutch rule, I can find no regulations or ordinances for the protection of slaves or for their religious welfare. They were generally treated with great rigor and severity, and not uncommonly with brutality. They were frequently branded with the names of their owners and they were treated to all intents and purposes as merchandise. They were purchased in Africa with intoxicating liquor taken there for that purpose, and they were exchanged here for pork, beans and other provisions; and in 1664 the director Stuyvesant, in the war with the English, recommended a loan of 5,000 or 6,000 guilders for the company to be paid "in good negroes or other goods in case the gracious God as we hope and wish will grant a favorable result."

These wild African slaves were not well fitted for manual and agricultural labor; but they were mainly employed as household servants, and such servants were in those days mostly slaves.

While the Dutch colonists were constantly haunted with the fear of a slave insurrection, they frequently feared the Indians still more; and in 1650, it was resolved by the Commonalty of New Amsterdam that the director "shall employ against the Indians as many of the strongest and most active of the negroes as he can conveniently spare, and provide them with a small axe and half pike."

In 1664, this province was taken from the Dutch by the English, and very soon some little attention was paid to the protection of the slaves. In 1686, Governor

Dongan reported to the home government that no care was taken for the conversion of the slaves; and in the same year, the second of the reign of James II, he and his Council were instructed to pass a law "for the restraining of inhuman severity which by all masters or owners may be used towards their Christian servants or slaves wherein provision is to be made that the willful killing of Indians and negroes may be punished with death, and that a fit penalty be imposed for the maiming of them;" and also "to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of negroes and Indians to the Christian religion." We may infer from these instructions that prior to that time there was no law for restraining the cruelty which masters could practice upon their slaves, and that it was not a crime for a white man to kill or maim and Indian or negro; and in these instructions we find the first official or governmental step taken here for the conversion of the slaves to Christianity. These instructions, however, were not altogether effectual, for we find that, in 1699, the Earl of Bellomont, then governor of the province, in writing to the Lords of Trade in England, said that the Provincial Assembly refused to pass a law facilitating the conversion of the slaves to Christianity on the ground that their conversion would emancipate them and loose them from their service "for they have no other servants in this country but negroes;" and when Lord Cornbury came here in 1702 charged with the administration of the governments of New York and the Jerseys, he received a long list of instructions from his Queen, and among others, to endeavor to get a law passed for restraining inhuman severity to Christian servants and slaves, and to make the willful murder of Indians and negroes an offense punishable with death. He was also instructed to encourage the trade of the Royal African Company of England whose main business was the slave trade, and to recommend to the company to see that the colony had a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable slaves

"at moderate rates." But these instructions for the protection of the negroes still failed to secure their purpose, and in 1709, Queen Ann's government instructed the colonial governor, Hunter, "to endeavor to get laws passed for the restraining of any inhuman severity which by ill masters or overseers may be used toward Christian servants and their slaves, and that provision be made therein that the willful killing of Indians and negroes may be punished with death, and a just penalty imposed for maiming them;" and "also to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of Indians and negroes to the Christian religion."

The slave code here, as embodied in ordinances and statutes was as barbarous and cruel as existed anywhere in this country, as a review of the ordinances and statutes and of what was done under them will show.

I have not been able to find any colonial statute regulating slavery here earlier than 1684. There were municipal ordinances and there may have been regulations of the Dutch West India Company concerning negro slaves at an earlier date. The slaves were placed under the most rigid restrictions. Not more than four were allowed to assemble at a time; and they were not permitted to pass the city gates without the permission of their masters, nor to bear weapons of any kind, nor to own either houses or lands; and their masters were forbidden to set them free under a severe penalty. If as many as three of them were found together, they were punished with forty lashes on the bare back; and the same legal liability attended the walking with a club outside of the master's grounds without a permit. They could not buy anything, even the necessities of life, they could not be witnesses against a free man, and they were punishable by master or mistress to any extent short of life and limb. In 1711 a public market for slaves was established at the market place at the foot of Wall street where all negroes who were to be hired were ordered to stand in readiness for bidders. In 1712,

a city ordinance was passed providing that any negro slave who should presume to appear in the streets after night-fall without a lantern with a lighted candle in it should be committed to jail to remain there until released by the payment of a fine by his master; and, as an equivalent, the authorities pledged themselves that the culprit should receive thirty-nine lashes at the public whipping post should his master desire it. The negroes did not always tamely submit to their degrading bondage and cruel treatment, and they occasionally murdered their stern and inhuman masters; Then they were seized, tried, condemned and sometime executed with the most horrible tortures. They were hung or chained to a stake and burned alive, or broken on a wheel, or suspended to the branches of a tree and left there to perish. An old newspaper of January 28th, 1733 records the case of a negro who was seized on Monday, tried on Tuesday and burned on Thursday in the presence of a crowd of witnesses.

The Indians stole slaves and occasionally killed them; and on one occasion at least the negroes retaliated upon them, as appears from a touching but authentic story told of a Sachem of the River Indians who was murdered by four negroes in 1702. The Indian being mortally wounded said "that he was now going the way of all flesh and had been a faithful servant to the English, and enjoined all his friends and relatives whom he left behind to follow his example and to be courageous; that nothing troubled him more than to be so treated by negroes that have no courage nor heart; if he had died with arms in his hands it would have been more satisfaction." The negroes were condemned to be executed for this murder; but the Indians of the tribe through their Sachem asked the Governor not to execute the sentence upon them saying; "True it is we have lost a great Sachem. But he upon his death bed desired that no revenge should be taken of the four negroes that killed him; and we therefore entreat his Excellency that all the four negroes may

be saved, and pray that they may be reprieved accordingly." The Governor, after considering the petition, told the Indians that he could "not gratify them in the whole, since blood had been shed, and blood must be shed again, and therefore but one negro should be executed and the others should be reprieved;" and so far the petition of the Indians was granted. Here, on the part of these untutored Indians, was an exhibition of magnanimity and forbearance rarely seen in the annals of the most civilized nations.

In February 1707 four slaves, one of whom was a woman and one an Indian were convicted of murdering their master, mistress and five children in New York. The men were hung and the woman was burned.

In 1712 in the City of New York, where the negro had become quite numerous, there were rumors of a negro plot against the whites, and they excited great alarm. A riot occurred between negroes and whites in which a house was burned and nine whites were killed and several wounded. The negroes were driven off and pursued into the woods where six of them in terror, rather than be arrested, committed suicide before they could be seized. The rest of them were caught, and in the midst of great excitement and alarm were brought to trial, and twenty-seven of them were convicted of complicity in the plot. Of these, twenty-one were executed, one being a woman. Some were hung, some including the woman were burned at the stake, one was broken on the wheel, and one hung alive in chains so to die. The impartial historian now doubts whether any plot actually existed.

We find that convicted female slaves were burned while males equally guilty were hung; and I have found a similar discrimination between the sexes in other lands. In the Netherlands, while the Emperor, Charles V, was endeavoring to stamp out heresy, female heretics were buried alive, while male heretics were executed by the sword. Why was

this discrimination? I leave the question unanswered.

In 1741, there were about 10,000 inhabitants in the city of New York, about one-fifth of whom were negro slaves; and there was in that year another panic from a supposed negro plot which deprived even the most discreet persons of their senses; and it ran its disastrous course like the witchcraft panic in New England, and the Popish plot in England concocted by Titus Oates. There was a veritable reign of terror. The panic was fostered by terrified or hysterical witnesses, and came to an end finally when the witnesses to the plot began to accuse men of influence and undoubted respectability, and thus their perjury became manifest to the most prejudiced or feeble-minded magistrate. But before the end came, one hundred and fifty-four negroes were committed to prison, fourteen of whom were burned at the stake, twenty hung and seventy-one transported. Three whites, two of whom were women, were convicted of complicity in the plot and were also executed, the man being hung in chains. A Catholic priest was also convicted for this plot and hung. The fact that he had administered the rites of his religion to the negroes prejudiced his case. No student of history doubts now that the supposed plot was a mere fiction which found credence from fear and panic, and that all the persons executed were innocent of the crimes for which they so cruelly suffered.

The first act on the subject of slavery in the colony of New York was passed October 24, 1684. It provided for corporal punishment at the discretion of two justices of the peace upon any slave that should "give, sell or truck any commodity whatsoever"; that no person should credit or trust any slave for clothes or drink or any other commodity; that if a slave should run away from his master or dame, every justice of the peace within the colony was authorized and empowered to grant "hue and cry" after the slave; and all constables and inferior officers were "strictly required and commanded, authorized and em-

powered to press men, horses, boats or pinnaces to pursue such slave by sea or land and to make diligent hue and cry as by the laws required."

The next act of any importance was passed Nov. 22, 1702, at the first session of the first colonial assembly in the first year of the reign of Queen Ann, and it was entitled "An Act Regulating Slaves."

It provided that no person should presume to trade with any slave without leave of the master, on penalty of forfeiting treble the value of the thing traded for and the sum of five pounds to the master; that it should be lawful for any master to punish his slaves for their crimes and offences at discretion, not exceeding to life and limb; that it should not be lawful for above three slaves to meet together at any other time or at any other place than when it should happen they meet in some servile employment for their masters and by their consent, upon penalty of being whipped upon the naked back at discretion of any justice of the peace not exceeding forty lashes; that it should be lawful for any city or town to have and appoint a common whipper for the slaves; and for his salary, it should be lawful for any city or town, in its common council or town meeting, to agree upon such sum to be paid him by the master per head as it should think fit not exceeding three shillings per head for all such slaves as should be whipped; that in case any slave should presume to strike or assault any free man or woman professing Christianity, it should be in the power of any two justices of the peace to commit such slave to prison, not exceeding fourteen days for one fact, and to inflict such other corporal punishment, not exceeding to life and limb, as to the justices should seem meet and reasonable; that "Whereas slaves are the property of Christians and cannot without great loss, or detriment to their masters or mistresses be subjected in all cases criminal to the strict rules of the law of England," therefore, "If any slave by theft or trespass shall demnify any person or persons to the value of five pounds or under, the master or mistress

shall be liable to make satisfaction for such damage to the party injured, and the slave shall receive corporal punishment at discretion of a justice of the peace, and immediately thereafter be permitted to attend his or her master's or mistress's service without further punishment"; that no slave should be allowed to give evidence, excepting in cases of plotting or conspiracy among themselves, in which case the evidence of one slave should be allowed good against another. It is easy to read between the lines of this act, as well as to see by its letter how much cruelty could be practiced upon the slaves by their Christian owners.

In 1705, an act was passed entitled "An act to prevent the running away of negro slaves out of the city of Albany to the French at Canada," with this preamble: "Whereas the City and County of Albany are the frontiers of this province towards the French of Canada, and that it is of great concern to this colony, during this time of war with the French, that no intelligence be carried from said city and county to the French at Canada"; and it provided that any slave belonging to any of the inhabitants of the city and county of Albany who should, after the first day of August then next, be found traveling forty miles above the city of Albany or at or above a certain place called Sarachtage (unless in company with his master) and should thereof be convicted should suffer death as in cases of felony. Then to save the thrifty dutchmen of Albany from serious loss, the act provided that in case of the execution of any such slave under the act, his value to be appraised in the manner specified in the act should be collected by taxation from all the slave holders of the City and County of Albany and paid to the owner, every slave of the age of fifteen years and upwards, fit for service, to be valued at thirty pounds.

An act was passed October 24th, 1706, entitled "An act to encourage the baptizing of negro, Indian and mulatto slaves"; with the following preamble: "Whereas divers of her Majesty's good

subjects, inhabitants of this colony, now are and have been willing that such negro, Indian and mulatto slaves who belong to them and desire the same should be baptized, but are detained and hindered therefrom by reason of a groundless opinion that has spread itself in this colony that by the baptizing of such negro, Indian or mulatto slave, they would become free and ought to be set at liberty; in order therefore to put an end to all such doubts and scruples, as have or hereafter at any time may arise about the same, be it enacted, etc.; and then it is provided that the direful consequence of freedom should not follow the baptism of any slave. The colonial assembly having thus discharged a pious duty to benefit the souls of slaves and to ease the tender consciences of their masters, then, to make sure that children with free fathers and slave mothers should not inherit freedom from their fathers, provided that every negro, Indian, mulatto and mestee bastard child should follow the state and condition of the mother; and, that no slave could have redress against freemen for any wrong or outrage, further provided that a slave should not in any case or matter be a witness for or against a free man.

The morals of the slaves were not wholly neglected by the colonial assembly, and September 18th, 1708 "An act for the surpressing of immorality" was passed; and it provided that every negro, Indian, or other slave that should be found guilty of drunkenness, cursing or swearing, or talking impudently to any Christian should suffer so many stripes at some public place as a justice of the peace there should determine meet and proper. It must be noticed, that while this act had a tender regard for the pious ears of Christians, all the rest of mankind, Jews and Gentiles, could be cursed and impudently talked to by the slaves with impunity.

In 1708 a family on Long Island had been murdered by slaves and great alarm was created among slave owners in the colony: and hence on October 30, of that year an act was passed "for preventing

the conspiracy of slaves," which provided that any slave that should murder or kill his or her master or mistress or any other person except a negro, mulatto or slave should suffer death in "such manner and with such circumstance as the aggravation and enormity" of the crime in the judgment of the justices of the court should merit and require; and the master was to be compensated for the slave so executed by taxation upon other slave holders not exceeding twenty-five pounds.

On May 19th, 1715, an act was passed prohibiting Indian, negro and mulatto slaves from selling any oysters in the city of New York. This act was not intended for the protection of the citizens but obviously for the safety of the oysters.

An act was passed October 29th, 1730, substantially re-enacting an act passed in December 1712, entitled "An act for the more effectual preventing and punishing the conspiracy and insurrection of negroes and other slaves, for the better regulating them, and for repealing the acts therein mentioned relating thereto," which among other things provided that if any person should sell any rum or other strong liquor to any Indian, negro or mulatto slave, or should buy or take in pawn from them any wares, merchandise, apparel, tools, instruments, or other kinds of goods whatever, he should forfeit and pay the sum of forty shillings for every such offense. Subsequently to the act of 1702, it is probable that some Jews had come into the colony or that they had come to be more favorably regarded; and hence it was made a criminal offense for a slave to strike a Jew, the same as it was before to strike a Christian. It was also provided that if any person should be found guilty of harboring, entertaining or concealing any slave, or assisting or conveying any slave away, if such slave should happen to be lost, dead or otherwise destroyed such person for harboring, etc., should be liable to pay the value of such slave to the master, to be recovered by action of debt. Then there is a further provision with this curious preamble:

"Whereas it often happens that through the lenity of the master or person under whose care the said negroes or slaves are, the persons entertaining or dealing with them are forgiven and not brought to condign punishment, to the very great hurt not only of said master, but of others, his majesty's liege people owning negroes and other slaves", that if any master or person under whose care any slave is, should forgive, make up, compound, compromise or receive, or take any other or less consideration than was by the act prescribed he should forfeit double the sum the person for entertaining, etc., ought to have forfeited; and that if any persons knew of such entertainers of slaves and did not discover the same to the master, he should forfeit the sum of forty shillings: and then follows this further preamble: "Whereas there are many negroes, Indians and mulattos who have formerly been manumitted and made free within this colony by their masters and owners, and it is found by experience that they entertain, harbor, support and encourage negro, Indian, and mulatto slaves to the great damage and detriment of the masters or owners of slaves, and of other his majesty's liege subjects within this colony" and it was enacted that if any free negro, Indian or mulatto should knowingly entertain any slave, he should forfeit ten pounds; and that if any master should manumit any slave, he should enter into a bond to his majesty with two sureties in the sum of not less than two hundred pounds, to keep and save such slave from becoming a charge to the public. Then came a provision which gave the magistrates power to inflict the most extreme and cruel punishments without any limitations or restraints and it was this: "That every Indian, negro or mulatto slave that should murder or otherwise kill, or conspire to or attempt the death of any person not a slave, or should attempt or commit any rape upon any free person or should wilfully burn any dwelling, house, barn, stable, out-house, stacks of corn or hay, or should wilfully mutilate, mayhem, or dismember any free man, or

should wilfully murder any negro, Indian or mulatto slave, and should be thereof convicted, he should suffer the pains of death in such manner and with such circumstances as the aggravation or enormity of his crime, in the judgment of the magistrates trying him, should merit and require." Under this act the convicted slave could be subjected to the most extreme cruelty. He could be hung, burned, broken upon the wheel, or tortured in any other way. It was further enacted: "That upon complaint made to any justice of the peace against any negro, Indian or mulatto slave, he should issue a summons and examine into the charges and if any of the crimes mentioned in the previous section were proven against him before a jury summoned to try the charge, the magistrates presiding should adjudge him guilty of the offense complained of and should give sentence of death upon him, and by their warrant cause immediate execution to be done by the common or any other executioner in such manner as they should think fit; providing, however, that if any master of any slave should be inclined to have his slave tried by a jury of twelve men, it should be granted, such master paying the charge of the same not exceeding nine shillings to the jury." It was further provided that the charge of prosecuting and executing slaves for such crimes should be defrayed by the city or county where they should be convicted, the charge to be distributed by the order of the justices so that it should not exceed the sum of three pounds current money for each conviction and execution; that the owner of a slave so executed in all the state but the city and county of New York should be paid for the same in like manner as the charges for prosecution and execution were by the act directed to be assessed, levied and paid provided the value of such slave did not exceed the sum of twenty-five pounds current money; that in the city and county of New York the charge for convicting and executing slaves should be raised in the same manner as was prescribed in an act entitled "An act for settling a ministry

and raising a maintenance for them in the city of New York;" and that the owner of a slave who should happen to be executed by virtue of the act in that city and county should be paid for in the same way; thus placing the compensation of the master for his executed slave and that of the christian minister for his holy services upon the same financial basis. It was further provided in the act that it should not be lawful for any slave to have or use any gun, pistol, sword, club or any other kind of weapon whatsoever, but in the presence or by the direction of his master and in his own ground on penalty of being whipped for the same at the discretion of a justice of the peace before whom such complaint should come or upon the view of the justice, not exceeding twenty lashes upon the bare back for every such offense: and that every such justice of the peace, constable, or any other officer as should neglect, delay or refuse the several duties and services enjoined by the act should for every such offense forfeit the sum of forty shillings.

The next act was that of December 12th, 1753, entitled: "An act for granting to his majesty the several duties and impositions on goods, wares and merchandise imported into this colony therein mentioned"; and it granted to his majesty, his heirs and successors a duty for every slave of four years old and upwards imported directly from Africa five ounces of Sevil Pillar or Mexico plate, or forty shillings in bills of credit made current in the colony; for every such slave of four years old and upwards imported from all other places by land or water, the sum of four pounds in like money, and then provision was made for any dispute as to the age of the slave imported, and to prevent the clandestine importation of slaves without the payment of the duty. Then it was further enacted that "As all due encouragement should be given to direct importations, so a proper distinction ought to be made on importations which may be attended with frauds as the case has too often happened" and that "Instead of the duty hereinbefore laid on

slaves, there shall be and hereby is given to his majesty, his heirs and successors a duty of five pounds on every slave upwards of four years old that shall be imported by land in the county of Albany or in the county of Ulster or in Dutchess county;" and that "Every such slave which shall be imported by land shall within three days after the same shall be brought within the limits of those counties, be reported by the importer," to the proper officers, and a certificate given for such slave.

Then came the act of March 8th, 1773 entitled, "An act to prevent aged and decrepit slaves from becoming burdensome within this colony" with the following preamble: "Whereas there have been repeated instances in which the owners of slaves have obliged them after they have grown aged and decrepit to go about begging for the common necessities of life whereby they have not only been reduced to the utmost distress themselves, but have become burdens upon the humanity and charity of others; and sometimes also such owners by collusive bargains have pretended to transfer the property of such slaves to persons not able to maintain them, from which the like evil consequences have followed; for the prevention whereof and effectually surpressing such unjust and inhuman practices;" and it was enacted that if any person should knowingly and willingly suffer and permit his slave to go about begging of others victuals, clothing or other necessities, such person, being thereof convicted before two magistrates, should forfeit for every such offense the sum of ten pounds to be levied by distress; and if any person should by such collusive conveyance or fraudulent agreement pretend to sell or dispose of any such aged and decrepit slave to any person who was unable to keep and maintain such slave, such sale should be absolutely void, and the person making such pretended sale should incur the penalty of twenty pounds, and should moreover be deemed to be the owner of such slave within the intent and meaning of the act.

By the act of March 9th, 1774, it was

provided that a slave breaking or defacing mile stones upon any highway should upon conviction be imprisoned in the county jail and receive thirty-nine lashes upon his bare back.

In an act passed April 1st, 1775, making provision for a bounty to be paid for killing wolves and panthers, it was provided that in case of the killing of a wolf or panther by a slave, the bounty should be paid to the master.

The act of April 3rd, 1775, provided for the assessment of slaves for taxation in the county of Orange; and they were to be assessed as follows: Males fifteen years old and under forty years, thirty pounds and females of the same age, twenty pounds; males forty years old and upwards and under fifty years, fifteen pounds and females of the same age, ten pounds; males ten years old and upwards and under fifteen years, eighteen pounds and females of the same age twelve pounds; males above seven and under the age of ten years, ten pounds and females of the same age, eight pounds.

We now begin to see a more benevolent spirit pervading the laws enacted in reference to slaves. Slavery is coming to be regarded as an evil. The dawn of freedom begins to appear. There is recognition that the slave has some rights which his master ought to respect; and more humane laws are made for his benefit and protection. By the act of April 12, 1785, the importation of slaves into this state was forbidden under severe penalties and the slaves so imported were declared free; and masters were authorized by deed or will to manumit their able bodied slaves under fifty years of age under certain regulations prescribed in the act; and slaves in all capital cases were given the privilege of trial by a jury of twelve men according to the course of the common law.

By the act of February 22, 1788 the prior slave statutes were revised; and in that act the purchase of slaves in this state for removal out of the state was forbidden under severe penalties and the slaves so purchased were declared free.

It was provided in the act in reference

to forfeited estates that the slaves of loyalists who had fled from the state and whose estates have been seized should be supported out of the proceeds of such estates so far as was needful to protect the public from their burden.

The act of March 9th, 1798, has this preamble showing the attitude of Quakers towards slavery: "Whereas the people comprising the society commonly called Quakers, and others, did a considerable time past manumit their slaves and in several instances not in strict conformity to the statute in such case made and provided whereby doubts have arisen whether the slaves so manumitted and their offspring are legally free;" and it declared such manumission valid.

Then came the act of manumission passed March 29, 1799, entitled "An act for the gradual abolition of slavery," which provided that every child born of a slave mother after July 4th, then next, "shall be deemed and adjudged to be born free" provided, nevertheless, "that such child shall be the servant of the legal proprietor of the mother until such servant, if a male, shall arrive at the age of twenty-eight years, and if a female at the age of twenty-five years; and that such proprietor shall be entitled to the service of such child until the ages specified in the same manner as if the child had been bound to service by the overseers of the poor." The person entitled to such could, however, within one year after the birth of such child, elect to abandon such service, in which case the child would become a pauper and could be bound out by the overseers of the poor like other pauper children, and until so bound out it was to be supported at the expense of the state not exceeding \$3.50 per month. And it was made lawful for the owner of every slave immediately after the passage of the act to manumit such slave by a certificate under his hand and seal. At the time of the passage of that act there were 21,903 slaves in the state and the whole population was nearly 1,000,000.

On the 8th of April, 1801, "An act concerning slaves and servants" was passed, which, while it was a substantial

revision of all the laws then in force relating to slaves, also contained some new provisions. That slaves might not be sold into perpetual slavery out of the state, their exportation was prohibited under severe penalties. Under that act, for striking a white person, a slave could be sent to jail by a justice of the peace. In all other cases, he had the right of trial by jury; and he could be transported out of the state upon conviction for any offense not punishable with death or imprisonment in the state prison.

The protest against slavery, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, became more and more clamorous, and it resulted, not only in the act of 1799 for the gradual abolition of slavery, but also in infusing into the slave code a more benign and tolerant spirit. During that time a society was formed composed of influential citizens of the state, the purpose of which was to promote the manumission of slaves, and to protect such of them as had been or might be manumitted; and that society was incorporated by the act of February 19, 1808 with a preamble as follows: "Whereas a volunteer association has for many years existed in this state, (as above mentioned), and whereas the said society has represented to the legislature that, besides its exertions to further the humane intentions of the legislature by aiding the operations of the just and salutary laws passed for the gradual abolition of slavery in this state, it has established a free school in the city of New York for the education of the children of such persons as have been liberated from bondage that they may hereafter become useful members of the community; and whereas the said society has prayed to be incorporated that it may be enabled more effectually to support the said school, and to fulfill the benevolent purposes of its association; therefore" etc.

During the war of 1812 it came to be believed that negroes could fight for their country, and that they could safely be intrusted with arms; and hence an act was passed October 24th, 1814, entitled "An act to authorize the raising of two regiments of men of color." It

authorized the raising by voluntary enlistments of two regiments composed of men of color consisting of 1,008 men each to be commanded by white officers. Slaves could enlist in these regiments with the written consent of their masters who were to receive their pay and bounty, and upon their discharge they were to be free. This was not however, the first time the slaves were armed to fight on the side of their masters. In 1755 a gunner engaged in the battle of Lake George in the war with the French in a letter to his brother wrote that "Our blacks behave better than the whites." They fought also in the Revolutionary war on both sides. By an act of the legislature of this state in 1781 it was provided that every slave who would enlist and serve for three years or until discharged should be declared a freeman of the state.

By the act of March 7th, 1813, it was provided that all manumitted slaves could take real and personal estate by devise, descent or otherwise; and all marriages before or thereafter contracted between slaves or between slaves and free negroes were declared valid and the children of such marriage legitimate. It was also provided that the children of slave mothers born after July 4th, 1799, which were declared free by the act of that year and yet held to service as in that act provided, should, by the persons entitled to such service, be taught reading so as to be able to read the holy scriptures before such children reached the age of twenty-one years; and if not so taught, such children should be free from the service at the age of twenty-one.

And now came the final blow to slavery by the act of March 31st, 1817, which provided that all slaves born before July 4th, 1799, should be free after July 4th, 1827; and thus after that date slavery, which had existed in this state for about two hundred years, ceased to exist here, and there was no further legislation on the subject of any importance.

The number of slaves in proportion to free population varied much at different

periods in the history of our state. It is said that in the 17th century, they were sometimes nearly if not quite one-half of the entire population. In 1698 there were 15,897 whites and 2,107 negroes. In 1701, 1,014 slaves were brought here from the West Indies and 626 from Africa. From 1701 to 1726, 1,573 slaves were brought here from the West Indies and 828 from Africa. In 1712, there were in the five counties of New York, Kings, Richmond, Orange and West Chester 1,775 slaves and 10,511 whites. In 1720 there were 27,000 whites and 4,000 slaves; in 1731 there were 43,040 whites and 7,202 slaves; in 1737 there 51,496 whites and 8,941 slaves; and in 1746 in all the counties except Albany, there were 51,872 whites and 9,717 slaves; in 1749 there were 62,756 whites and 10,692 slaves in the colony. In 1734 a tax of one shilling yearly was imposed for "every negro, Indian or mulatto slave above 14 years of age."

After 1740, the importation of slaves diminished. From March 11th, 1746 to March 31st, 1749, only 49 slaves were imported of whom only five were brought here for speculation and the rest were servants or seaman. During that time the duty on imported slaves was four pounds each. In 1735, the duty was forty shillings on slaves imported from Africa and on those imported from any other place four pounds.

The price of slaves like other chattels varied. I find that it was \$92 in 1663, from \$75 to \$87 in 1678, and in 1699 the price of imported slaves was only twenty-five dollars.

Slavery was never very profitable in this state, and no master held many. They were owned throughout the state, so far as it was then settled. But they were mainly on Long Island, and in and about New York, Kingston and Albany. Most masters had but one adult slave and they rarely had more than two or three. It is recorded that James Graham, a prominent and noted character in this and other colonies owned at his death, in 1701, 33 slaves. He had large landed estates in Ulster county, on Staten Island and in New Jersey. It is not

stated whether he held these slaves at the time of his death for sale or for use. I have found but one other case in this state, where a master owned as many as eight slaves above fourteen years of age. In the rural districts of the state generally, the slaves were humanly treated. They worked with their masters and mistresses upon the farms and in the homes and to some extent joined in their amusements and festivities.

Thus at the end of more than seventy years after the last slave disappeared in this state, I have given this brief portrayal of slavery as it existed here, as I have learned it from history, tradition, and by reading the statutes. I have sought for information from many quarters, and I have endeavored to throw light upon a subject quite unfamiliar to the people of this generation.

The last servant born in this town was the late Jack Grannis, father of William and Albert Grannis, twin brothers, still residents here. He was born of a slave mother owned by Hezekiah Talcott, on the 22nd day of May, 1804, as I learn from a record in the town clerk's office. He was a noted character and was well known to all the older inhabitants of our village.

We must not judge our slave holding ancestors too harshly. We must measure them, not by our standards, but by those of the times in which they lived. Prejudices against the negroes have not yet entirely disappeared. But they are no longer embodied in any statutes. Prior to 1821, there was no distinction on account of color between free negroes and the whites in the matter of suffrage, as a property qualification was required for all voters. But that distinction was first introduced into the constitution of 1821. The requirement of a property qualification for white voters was entirely abrogated in 1826, leaving it still in force as to colored voters. In 1845, the question whether the property qualification for colored voters should be continued was submitted to the people, and was decided in the affirmative by a vote of 230,834 to 85,306. The same question was

again submitted to the people in 1860, and decided in the same way by a vote of 327,934 to 197,505. It was again submitted to the people in 1869 and was decided in the same way by a vote of 282,403 to 249,802. The distinction between colored and white voters was finally wiped out by the fifteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution in 1870. Congress has previously submitted the amendment to the states. Here it had a curious history. In 1869 our legislature gave its consent to the amendment, but in 1870 it withdrew such consent. In 1872 it recinded the withdrawal and this ended the controversy.

One more matter must be noticed before closing this paper, already I fear too long. Indian slaves are mentioned in several of the early statutes; and the question may be asked, were there in this state any Indian slaves in the same sense that there were negro slaves? There were undoubtedly some Indian slaves. There could not have been many, as they were poor material out of which to make slaves, and there is scarcely any mention in any book, except the statutes, of Indian slaves. There were several ways in which Indians could become slaves. In some parts of our country, they were captured in war and sold as slaves, and they may have come into this colony in that way. Occasionally they were ruthlessly seized and sold

into slavery; some of them were sold into slavery for crime. In some cases the Indians pledged their children for the payment of supplies furnished to them, and failing to redeem them, they were sold into slavery; and I have found complaint that in some cases Indian children were bound out to service with a view to their education, and then contrary to the contract were sold into slavery; and they were doubtless some children of Indian fathers and slave mothers who for great certainty were intended to be covered in the statutes under the term "Indian Slaves," just as in the statutes, mulatto and mestee slaves are spoken of, mestee slaves being the offspring of free white men and quadroons.

A little more than a century ago, slavery was sanctioned, as I have before stated, by the customs of all nations. Now it is under the ban of all civilized nations. The problem of slavery has been solved, the Anglo Saxon race to which we belong taking the lead in its solution; and so in the sweep of time, all the other social and political problems which confront our race—the problems of finance, currency, tariffs, and the relations between labor and capital which frighten so many pessimists will be solved, and rightly solved in the interests of all mankind and in the fulfillment of the Divine purpose.

PRINTING AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN THIS COUNTRY.

AN ADDRESS BY JOHN L. M'MILLAN, OF ILION,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, November 9, 1897.

If this paper, which your Chairman of the Committee on Addresses requested me to read and which, with considerable modification, was read before the Board of Trade of Ilion recently, should prove a departure from your customs, and be but a hasty view of the development of the art of printing, and have little local color or interest, I can at least plead ignorance of your requirements, though I confess a deep interest in many of the papers published as emanating from this society.

A history of the art of printing cannot come within the scope of a paper of this kind, but a hurried glance at what appear to me some of the most striking features in its development, the importance it has in the fields of business enterprise, a reference to what some Herkimer county men have done toward it, and a suggestion of its importance as a civilizing influence is all I can hope to touch upon.

The first printing from blocks or movable type was done in China. The emperor, Wên-ti, as early as A. D. 593, is credited with thus directing the printing of the most important papers. The process was abandoned, owing probably, to the multiplicity of characters in the Chinese language.

We need not consider the various claims to the discovery of the art by

Europeans, the contentions of the Dutch, French, Germans and Italians, but will fall into line with the majority of historians and concede the practical invention of art to John Guttenberg, a native of Mentz, who was born about 1399. It matters not whether the principles were known in China hundreds of years before, whether every foot-print was an imprint, or whether the art was suggested in a thousand ways, John Guttenberg was the first in its practical application to commercial uses, the pioneer in supplanting the laborious process of writing books by hand, letter by letter, and as such as we may join the majority in honoring him. It is supposed that his first script printed from movable type appeared about 1446, and without reference to history we may mark from this time the greatest practical development of the world, the spread of education among the masses, and the general growth of the idea of civil and religious liberty. While the development to our present high standards of almost universal primary knowledge of letters was slow, it must be borne in mind that the first people capable of reading the work of this man's genius, and his early successors, represented but a small class.

It need not seem remarkable to the American observer of today whose eyes

are filled with the daily bulletin of political and social events, that the first uses of the art were directed to printing religious literature, and that the first book of importance printed by the pioneer was the Bible, for at that time comparatively few of those able to read were outside of religious vocations.

Without attempting to trace the art of printing through all its various stages of development, I will refer briefly to some of the most striking inventions which have marked its progress, point to its early uses in this country, and allude to the marvellous growth of the manufacture of books and newspapers made possible because of the inventions, and because of the reading habits and demands of our people. In order to briefly and consistently trace the most important steps leading up to the immense results of the present era of printing, I will treat of first some of the chief factors necessary to the art under separate heads as follows: Type, ink, paper, stereotyping, electrotyping, mechanical type-setting.

TYPE.

The first movable types were made from blocks of wood, and the letters engraved on the block by hand. It is interesting to note that Gutenberg's first attempt at printing was from engraved blocks of wood, and it is said that his discovery of movable type was made through accidentally breaking one of the blocks he was experimenting with. The second step was a metal body for the type, the third, casting from molds.

The process of type-making now employed consists of taking a die on which the letter or character has been engraved in relief and forcing it into a block of softer metal to make a matrix, or letter intaglio which is used in connection with a suitable mold. The molten metal is forced between the four walls of the mold to form the body, and against the matrix to form the face of the type.

Type founding progressed through various stages of development from the earliest attempt when crude molds were used, and the metal for each type poured

from a crucible by hand, up to the present time when automatic devices deliver the cast types at the rate of from 60 to 140 letters a minute, depending on the size of the body.

The first attempt at type-founding in America was about 1768, but was unsuccessful. The first practical foundry was established in 1772, at Germantown, Pa., by Christopher Sower, Jr.

It is interesting in view of Gutenberg's early attempts to print a Bible, to note that the first font of type cast here was German pica for printing a Bible,

The Type Trust with its \$6,000,000 capital, two large and a dozen small houses supply chiefly the type used in this country.

INK.

Not least among the difficulties of the pioneer printers was providing a suitable ink which would print clearly and not blur when the imprint was taken. Ink-making developed as the art progressed, but Thomas, in his "History of Printing" states that Rogers & Fowle, of Boston, were the first printers in this country who made an acceptable ink. This was about 1750, and before that time it was chiefly imported from Europe.

The abominable specimens of revolutionary printing are to be accounted for by the fact that its manufacture was not generally understood by the printers of that period, materials were scarce, and they were unable to draw on Europe for their supplies.

To-day its manufacture is a distinct branch of business, and prices range from a few cents to several dollars a pound, according to quality.

PAPER.

The earliest form of manufactured paper was probably the papyrus of the Egyptians, and it continued to be used until the twelfth century.

Paper was almost wholly imported into this country until the year 1700, and chiefly imported for 100 years thereafter. The first paper mill of the colonies was built by William Rittenhouse, at Germantown, Pa., in 1690. William Bradford, the only printer of the col-

onies outside of New England, aided in the enterprise.

In 1779 the mills of the colonies were supposed to produce about \$500,000 worth of paper a year, while to-day the annual product exceeds \$80,000,000.

The importance of this great industry as applied to printing is suggested by the results of the Census inquiry. In 1880 the paper used for newspaper and periodicals aggregated 189,145,048 pounds, and in 1890 the consumption had grown to 552,876,161 pounds.

This state has 128 of the 567 paper manufacturing establishments, or more than 22 per cent. of the whole number.

Compare, if you please, the laborious process of making sheets of paper by hand with the results of the wonderful devices which turn out miles of it in a day.

Without going into a detailed comparison of the cost of this article, and its relative cost at various periods of its use, I will call your attention to the fact that in 1880 the average price paid for paper by twenty of the leading dailies of New York was 7 9-20 cents per pound, while today it is probably less than 2½ cents per pound.

I cannot leave this subject without a reference to the relation of one of your distinguished members to this most important industry, the Hon. Warner Miller. "Wood-Pulp Miller" of the satirist is, to my mind, the proudest title he ever won. He was the pioneer in the introduction of wood pulp paper for ordinary uses in the country; through his efforts largely, and on account of his persistence mainly, this most desirable product was early brought into common use. Its importance may be imagined when I say to you that it came at a time when the gleanings of the world were inadequate to supply the demand for rags, when paper had advanced to an almost prohibitive price for ordinary publication uses. The absorbent qualities of this paper made the fast press consistent, and its cheapness made the wonderful growth of newspapers and books possible.

PRINTING PRESSES.

The press used by Guttenberg was a crude device made of wood having a screw mounted in a frame for lowering the platen to make the imprint.

The earliest printing press known to have been made in this country was for Christopher Sower, Jr., in 1750. The revolutionary war marks the period of the greatest activity in press making, but it was not until early in the present century that iron was substituted for wood in their construction.

Tracing these machines through their most prominent stages of development in this country, I submit the following table as marking their steps by date:

1803 screw press,	35	per hour.	2	men
1826 patent lever press,	120	"	"	2 "
1836 Adams press,	400	"	"	3 "
1843 Hoe single cylinder	600	"	"	2 "
1846 Hoe double "	1200	"	"	3 "
1853 Hoe eight "	10000	"	"	14 "
1870 Bullock press,	10000	"	"	3 "
1872 Walker press,	20000	"	"	3 "
1879 Hoe's fast press,	30000	"	"	3 "
1897 Octuple press,	90000	"	"	3 "

During the earliest use of the printing press a screw was provided to lower the platen; then followed the lever; then the cylinder operated by men by means of a crank; then the application of steam power, then the adaptation of the press so that more than one person could feed it; then, in 1870, the Webb press which printed from a continuous roll of paper, the introduction of cutting, pasting and folding devices so that the papers were delivered complete, up to the marvelous octuple press of today which delivers 96,000 complete papers in a single hour. Think of it, 1 600 papers a minute, or 26 while your watch ticks once.

The development of speed in presses is not confined to those used on newspapers. I have seen a press taking fine paper from a roll and delivering pages of the Century Magazine, printed, cut, folded and perforated at the rate of about 64 a second. On this press curved electrotypes were used.

It is interesting to note that the first newspaper in this country to adopt steam power to propel its presses was the New York *Sun* in 1835.

In closing this topic I desire to call your attention to a matter of much local interest as marking an era in the advance of printing that will become a matter of much historical comment in time, and that is that the *Ilion CITIZEN* of September 26, 1884, was the first newspaper in the world to apply an electric motor to the propulsion of its press. This is not an uncommon power today, and the *CITIZEN* may proudly claim to have been the pioneer.

I take pleasure in presenting to your society a copy of this paper, which has a double interest, to which I shall refer under another topic.

STEREOTYPING AND ELECTROTYPING.

This process was early used in Europe, and developed through various stages of imperfection to the ordinary use of papier-maché at the present time.

Let me explain briefly the process and its importance and value as making the modern newspaper with its large editions and prompt deliveries possible. A page of composed types is securely locked in a steel frame called a "chase" a thin layer of papier-mache is spread on the page and made to conform to the irregularities of the type, this sheet is dried while still on the type and forms a perfect mould of the page; the sheet is then put in a box which is curved to conform to the cylinder of the presses, and a cast is made; this cast is a perfect counterpart of a page of type and has the letters on its outside surface. Any number of these casts may be made from the mold, and it will be seen that as many presses may work on the same matter as casts are made. In well conducted newspaper offices about eight minutes elapse between the time the type form leaves the composing room, and the first stereotype forms are on the presses.

Stereotyped columns of matter are largely used by the smaller newspapers and they are thus enabled to present their readers with much excellently edited and selected matter at very slight expense. Indeed the large weekly newspapers of to-day would not be consistent with the returns their proprietors receive if it were not for their ability to

avail themselves of this excellent system.

The New York Tribune 1861 was the first newspaper in this country to adopt stereotyping for its presses, and it is now universally used by newspapers having a circulation of upwards of 10,000 copies.

Electrotyping is chiefly used for fine cuts, where a clear and distinct result is called for, and for books, and gives the highest results typographically. By this process a wax mould of the page is made, the mold dusted with black lead and placed in a solution of sulphate of copper where a thin film of copper is deposited by electrolysis. The film is removed from the wax and strengthened by pouring molten type metal on its back, and when it is mounted on a wooden block forms a perfect and durable counterpart of a page of type. The wooden blocks may be removed, and the pages filed to be used when new editions are required.

The cost of electrotype plates is estimated at 1½ cents per square inch.

TYPE SETTING MACHINES.

Notwithstanding the wonderful progress in every other branch of the art of printing, until very recently type continued to be set as it was by Gutenberg, 450 years ago. While many attempts have been made to set type mechanically, it is only during the past decade that the commercial use of these machines has become common.

In 1821, Dr. William Church announced an invention for casting and setting type automatically, but its commercial use never was developed.

Two distinct types of machines are now in use, those which handle movable type represented by Burr, Thorne and McMillan, and line-casting, represented by the Mergenthaler Linotype. In all these machines a key board is used to call the letters from their respective channels. The McMillan is the only device in commercial use which justifies the lines automatically, the other type-handling machines require a second operator to justify the lines as they are assembled by the operator of the key board.

The Linotype machine assembles matrices into lines, justifies them by means of compound wedges, and casts a solid line with the letter faces on its edge. It is largely used on daily papers in this country.

It is probable that about 4,000 type-setting machines of all patterns are used in this country at present, and that they effect an aggregate saving over hand composition of upwards of \$5,000,000 a year.

That the best results are secured from the use of some of these devices is attested by the fact that machines made in your own county compose the types for that highest example of typographical excellence, the Century Magazine. During the past year a complete Bible was set on these machines.

The economy effected varies according to location, wages, class of work, etc., and, roughly speaking, the average output of the machines is four times that of hand compositor.

You will excuse me if I refer with some satisfaction to the fact that the Iliion CITIZEN of September 26, 1884, the edition which was printed from power furnished by an electric motor, was the first newspaper in this country to have all the body or text type of its paper set on a type-setting machine. The machine was made at the Armory in Iliion.

And again November 24, 1893, the Iliion CITIZEN was set complete in twenty hours by a young woman, Miss Francis Fallon of New York. This was the first paper in the world set on a machine which automatically justified the type. It would have taken eight average compositors the same time to set this paper.

I shall be pleased to have you accept a copy of this paper too as marking a step towards the perfection of the art.

BOOKS.

It is supposed that the oldest book printed in English was "De Proprietatibus rerum." Its author was Bartholomæus de Glauville, and the book was printed by Caxton in 1440.

The first book printed in the New England colonies was the "Bay Psalm Book" in 1640, at Cambridge, Mass.

There is positive evidence, however, that a press existed in Mexico as early as 1535. The first printer in the New World was Juan Pablos, and the first book printed was entitled "Spiritual Ladder to Ascend to Heaven." Printing was conducted in Mexico and Peru previous to 1600.

The earliest books printed after the invention of the art were chiefly theological, and this continued to be the chief class for two centuries thereafter. Books did not become popular until in the present century because of the large cost of materials, and their gradual cheapening increased the purchasing power of money and brought them within the reach of a larger class. A pound of book paper today may cost five cents, while in early colonial times it represented an equivalent to one-third of a days' wages of an ordinary workman.

In view of the fact that the first books printed were in the German character, it is interesting to note that not less than 250,000,000 of the population of the world today use the Roman character, and nine-tenths of the printing of the globe is done in this text; the bulk of the other tenth is in German text.

In the twelve years from 1830 to 1842 the entire number of books printed in this country was about 1,300, an average of a little more than 100 a year. In 1853 their publication had increased to 879, in 1860 to 1,350, in 1892 to 4,682, and in 1896 to 5,703. In the past five years ending in 1896 the total publication of books in this country aggregated 25,562, or thirty-six times as many as were published in any five years sixty years ago.

The value of books published in the United States in the year 1820 was estimated at \$2,500,000; in 1840, \$3,500,000, and in 1871 it had increased to \$40,000,000.

In 1890 the number of establishments engaged in printing (I refer to general printing exclusive of newspapers) was 4,098, with a capital of \$67,146,455, furnishing employment to more than 66,000 people and turning out an annual product of \$93,540,831. The present ratio of increase in the publication of books is

more than 35 per cent. a decade. It is estimated that more than 6,000,000 distinct books have been published in the world since the invention of printing.

I have given these figures on printing and book-making as distinct from periodical literature and its manufacture, and they serve to suggest the wonderful advance which is taking place in this important branch.

While we have books by the million, and while we may approximate their value as a commercial commodity, who can venture an opinion as to their importance to the generation of today, who dare suppose their influence and worth for past generations, and who can predict their effect on future generations? Book-making is more than a business, it is more than an art. Through books we trace the development of the world, the achievements and mistakes of mankind, the advance in science, art, thought and individuality. We sometimes hear pessimistic remarks about the publications of today, but there is no cause for alarm; the majority are good, better indeed than the majority of individuals we come in contact with from day to day, and even the most rigid Puritan who eschews fiction has no cause for complaint, for less than one-fifth of the books published at the present time are of that class.

We sometimes hear the wail that the newspaper is superseding the book, but if this is so, we still have no cause for alarm, for newspapers are increasing over books less than 1 per cent.

Before the art was discovered, a monk often spent a lifetime in writing out a single Bible. Gutenberg and his associates spent five years on their first one, and today a single operator on a typesetting machine can compose the types for a Bible in five months.

The early books had illuminated initial letters for the beginning of chapters, some of them very elaborate, but paragraphs and punctuation marks were unknown. Today the majority of books are plainly printed, and are paragraphed and punctuated with the greatest intelligence and care.

I am unwilling to close this brief sketch regarding books without an allusion to a matter of the deepest local interest and value to Herkimer county—the Public Libraries. It is my confident belief that the founders of the Herkimer Free Library, in which I have the pleasure of reading this paper, and the Ilion Free Public Library have contributed more to the substantial welfare of this community than any two single individuals in the history of this county. The influence of these institutions can not be measured or calculated, the pleasure and profit they contribute to their localities can never be determined, and if both were wiped off the face of the earth a few years hence, their beneficent influence would still extend for generations. Benjamin Franklin never originated a better thing than the circulating library, and your president, Judge Robert Earl, the donor of the Herkimer Free Library, and Clarence W. Seamans, the giver of the Ilion Free Public Library never did a better thing than when they founded these institutions.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS.

It is said that the "newspaper idea" originated in Venice in 1573. The paper was called the "Gazetta," but it was not printed. It was written out with a pen, and each person paid a small coin, a gazetta, to have it read to him.

The first newspaper printed in the American colonies was "Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic," in 1690. It was immediately suppressed. The second newspaper printed in the colonies was a republication of an English Gazette at New York in 1696.

We may date the real birth of the American press April 4, 1704, when the first issue of the Boston "News-Letter" was published. John Campbell, the postmaster of Boston was its editor and proprietor.

The "New York Gazette," issued by Wm. Bradford, weekly, was the first newspaper published in this state. It first appeared October 16, 1725, and was printed on a foolscap sheet. The real prototype of the political journal of today was the second newspaper published

in this state. It was called "John Peter Zenger's New York Weekly Journal," and was first published in New York November 5, 1733. The first daily newspaper in America appeared in 1784 at Philadelphia, and was called the "American Daily Advertiser."

The first actual stimulus to newspapers in America is marked by the period of the Revolution when the country was cut off from the mother country, and political excitement was intense. The American people for the first time realized the importance of these bulletins of news, but the facilities for supplying them were meagre, the specimens of papers of that time were crude, materials were scarce and high, and transportation facilities slow and imperfect. This condition existed for many years after the war. Previous to this time the censorship of the press by the colonial governors, and the exactions of the "Stamp Act" hindered activity in newspaper-making, while the chief interest of the largest class of readers was in European events. It must not be understood, however, that the Revolution and the years immediately following marked a substantial growth in newspapers, or made their publication a profitable business, for many years elapsed before it became a remunerative enterprise. But the revolutionary period, and the questions of inter colonial interest, the discussion of matters of such momentous importance that the colonists were willing to sacrifice their lives in their adherence to what they considered their rights, must have been the seed-time for the American journal, and the creation of that spirit of interest in affairs which has grown with the years.

We cannot take the time necessary to trace the difficulties which beset the early journalists, nor consider in detail the steps which mark the growth of journalism in this country, but will suggest for your consideration some data which will indicate the progressive character of the newspaper and periodical press.

In the year 1775, 37 newspapers were

published in the colonies, in 1810, 359; in 1828, 861; in 1830, 1,403; in 1850, 2,526; in 1860, 4,501; in 1870, 5,871; in 1880, 11,314; in 1890, 17,616 and in 1896 it is estimated that 20,000 newspapers and periodicals were published. It is interesting to note that one-half the periodicals of the world are published in the United States.

Without going into details as to the periods of issue or the classification of the American journals, I will give a few figures which will suggest the growth of this great enterprise. At the beginning of the decade ending in 1880 it was estimated that the amount of capital invested in periodical publication was \$53,000,000, and in 1890 it had increased to \$126,269,885. In 1880 the number of hands employed was 65,015, while in 1890, 106,095 were employed, and the wages had increased from \$28,559,336 in 1880 to \$68,601,532 in 1890. The gross value of the periodical press in 1880 was \$89,009,074, and in 1890 it was \$179,859,750. While this increase in gross product between 1870 and 1880 was 3.60 times, and between 1880 and 1890 was but 2.02 times, it must not be understood that there has been a falling off in growth, as the prices for this class of literature have steadily declined in the interval.

The growth in size from the earliest colonial papers to the metropolitan daily of the present is suggested by the fact that the early newspapers contained from 3,000 to 6,000 ems of type, while the average composition of the larger dailies is upward of 700,000 ems at the present time.

This paper would be incomplete without a passing reference to the improved postal and telegraph facilities enjoyed by the journals of the present day. In the old days carrier pigeons were employed to transmit news, the pony-express was used, special locomotives were called into service, and finally the telegraph with its constantly extending influence. It is interesting here to note the fact that the publisher of that early Boston paper, to which I referred,

apologized on one occasion for publishing European news thirteen months late.

Referring briefly to our own locality, the first newspaper in Herkimer county was the *Telescope*, published in Herkimer village about 1802. Its editor was Benjamin Corey. The life of the paper was about three years.

The second appeared in 1805, was called the *Farmer's Monitor*, and its publishers were Holt & Robbins. Its life was about two years. Herkimer village may also felicitate itself on being the birthplace of the next three papers in the county. One appeared in 1807 and two in 1810. Eleven more were started in the county up to the year 1859. This village may also claim one of the oldest editors in the state, Mr. C. C. Witherstine. Mr. C. S. Munger of the Iliion CITIZEN and Herkimer CITIZEN, has more than once been honored by election to responsible positions in the Editorial Association of this state.

ADVERTISING AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

We often hear the expression "news-papers derive their chief revenues from advertising". This is not true. In 1880 the receipts from subscriptions exceed those from advertising by more than 12 per cent., and in 1890 the relation was still maintained, though it was cut to less than 3 per cent. in favor of subscriptions. This may be accounted for by the decline in prices for periodicals, and the increase in the average circulation, which made higher prices for advertising consistent. In 1890 the receipts from subscriptions aggregated \$72,343,087, while those from advertising were \$71,243,361.

There are some interesting and unaccountable facts regarding the distribution of newspapers in this country; for instance, New York state has 183 dailies, while Pennsylvania with a population of a million and a quarter less has 201. Vermont and New Hampshire, states lying side by side and with substantially the same population, show a striking difference, Vermont having 4 dailies, and New Hampshire 15. The state of Massachusetts, whose inhabitants boast of superior enlightenment,

has only 88 daily papers, while California, with less than one-half the population of the Bay state, has 113. Delaware, with scarcely any foreign or illiterate population, and with 25,000 more inhabitants than New Mexico, whose population is generously distributed with Indians and half breeds, has the same number of dailies. We cannot account for the distribution of newspapers in this country in given areas, by population, relative number of cities and villages, or comparative illiteracy of the people.

We may take an optimistic view of the press and its influence. The daily press is usually a true statement of the happenings of interest to the locality it represents, with a judicious amount of general news, and, notwithstanding the "yellow journals" with their large distribution, in the main, the press is high-minded, and its influence good. I am of the opinion that a large proportion of the patrons of these sensational newspapers are influenced by curiosity to see what they will do next, for no one will deny their originality and enterprise, and a large class are entertained by their racy "stories". In the old days, before the general distribution of newspapers, the prolific liar in a community could get a considerable audience, but no one would accept from him a serious opinion. It is true that these journals are bad, but the total percentage of their distribution compared with the better class leaves no present cause for real alarm.

The best talent in the world is sought for periodical work. The place for mediocrity is growing narrower every day. The standards of education and qualification are constantly being raised. The strife for interesting and valuable matter is growing with the development of the press, and readers are broadening in their ability to discriminate and think for themselves.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding this paper I desire to call your attention to the relative mechanical conditions at the beginning of the present century, and those of the

present time, and illustrate the real meaning of this improvement in appliances, and the impossibility of the newspaper of today without them. To furnish an edition of a metropolitan paper of 150,000 copies, to be printed in an hour, 150,000 people would be required, and their wages, based on the present average earnings, would amount to more than the whole mechanical labor of such a paper for a year under the prevailing conditions of the present. Imagine acres of presses of the type of the screw press of 1808, which was capable of turning out 35 impressions an hour with two persons to operate it, the army of paste and folders, the number of duplicate pages of type requiring a city-full of people to set, the copyists to rewrite the copy of the editorial staff, and you will see the impossibility of the newspaper of today under the mechanical conditions of that period. But leaving these out of consideration, the lack of news-gathering facilities would be prohibitive.

The growth of newspapers and books has been identical with the development in labor-saving devices and processes, and their increase in numbers has kept pace with the outgrowth of invention.

I am unwilling to close this paper without a thrust at the fallacy of our socialistic philosophers, including Bishop Potter and Henry George—the delusion that labor-saving machinery tends to depress wages and demoralize labor. While I admit that we may find numerous instances where the introduction of labor-saving devices has wrought hardship in individual cases, and that it appears to hasten the action of the law of “the survival of the fittest,” I maintain that there is nothing to justify the opinion that its influence has been inimical to the interests of the workingman.

Its effect is invariably to increase the purchasing power of money, and its practical workings have made the increase of wages possible. In no branch of industry, perhaps, has greater progress been made during the present century than in printing and its auxiliaries, and I will show you that in the past half century, which represents the most material growth, wages have steadily appreciated. In 1850 the average yearly earning of the workmen engaged in general printing was \$331, in 1860 \$376, in 1870 \$489, in 1880 \$520 and in 1890 the average yearly earnings of those employed on periodicals was \$646.

In the days of Guttenberg the number of people in a community like this who were able to read was probably less than the number in this village who are unable to read. I venture the statement that it would puzzle some of your members to name half a dozen adults in the village who cannot read. This reversal of conditions is due to “the art preservative of arts.” Its service to mankind is past finding out. No mere man can calculate its effect on the history made since its inception, the influence it has wielded on the nations, or its potency in shaping their courses.

The glorious possibilities of the present, when the humblest citizen may have the bulletin of the chief daily events of the whole world before his eyes, when no industrious person is cut off from the best thoughts of the best writers, when advance in art, science and literature is accurately chronicled and within the reach of those who seek it, are impressive.

We are compelled to fix the growth of the art of printing by commercial statistics, but its increasing power cannot be gauged by figures.

THE MOHAWK TURNPIKE.

AN ADDRESS BY RUFUS A. GRIDER, OF CANAJOHARIE,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, December 11, 1897.

A few years after the close of the revolutionary war, a great many families who resided in the New England states began to move to central and western New York.

The cause for that movement was two fold. Many of General Sullivan's army, when he marched into the Indian country in 1779, saw the beautiful and productive lands of the Genesee and other valleys, and upon their return home lauded them highly.

It appears that when a charter was granted to Massachusetts as a colony, the British government (being ignorant of the geography) named the Pacific Ocean as its western boundary.

When a charter for New York was granted, the western boundary of New York also extended to the Pacific Ocean, as the latter state lay west of Massachusetts. A dispute arose between these two states, both claiming the unsettled territory lying west of Fort Stanwix. (Now Rome, N. Y.) After the close of the revolution—the two states agreed to settle the dispute amicably. The tract was estimated at 8,000,000 acres. Massachusetts was to take its one-half on the south, and New York, the northern portion towards the lakes. In the year 1778, Massachusetts had already extinguished the Indian title and sold its share to a land company; New York

treated with the Indians at Fort Stanwix and purchased the Indian title in that year, and opened its 4,000,000 acres to settlers. Then, a great movement of emigration began; New England people took up those western lands, which could be purchased from 10 cents upward to \$1 per acre. Munsell's "County of Albany," page 310, says: "It is recorded that in the winter of 1795, twelve hundred sleighs passed through Albany in three days with emigrants to Genesee Valley. They were from New England, ancestors of the present prosperous citizens of the farms and shops of western New York. They soon had abundant products to sell and demanded a highway of trade."

"At Fink's Tavern, below Little Falls, New England people came on horseback, prospecting, with well filled saddle-bags and portmanteaus—he entertained frequently thirty to forty in a single night."—Simms.

Following the enterprise of a few public benefactors, improved facilities for transportation on the Mohawk river, from Schenectady, were begun in 1792 by the

INLAND NAVIGATION

Company, who improved the Mohawk river and extended navigation to Lakes Oneida, Ontario, Seneca and Cayuga, and the St. Lawrence river trade which

formerly went to Montreal, was diverted to Albany and New York.

The tide of immigration continued unabated. The roads were very bad—no bridges had been constructed beyond Schenectady, until 1798, when a bridge was built over the Schoharie river at Fort Hunter.

About that time, two young men, residents of Litchfield, Conn., named Seth Whetmore and Lew Norton, were on their way west to take up land. Hearing much talk about the construction of a great turnpike, they became interested in the turnpike enterprise and remained. Whetmore, being a surveyor and civil engineer, superintended its construction. They, with Ozias Bronson; Hewills Hills and three others, formed the first board of directors. The roadbed was made of broken stone, 60 feet wide, 18 inches higher in the center, sloping to the edges. A better road was needed between Albany and Schenectady, the distance 16 miles. A charter for a turnpike was granted in 1797. It connected Albany with the inland navigation company by a macadamized road, other lateral branches connecting therewith. It soon became the leading highway for travel, and kept up with the wonderful progress then developing in the western part of the state. The navigation company had developed trade greatly, but charges were so high that costly material only could be conveyed over that route.

A turnpike, all thought, would meet the want. A charter was obtained in A. D. 1800, to build a turnpike from Schenectady to Utica, the distance being about 68 miles. When that was obtained the Albany and Schenectady pike of 16 miles was already completed and did a thriving business. The public readily subscribed for building turnpikes. Charters were granted, one adjoining another, until the main western line extended to Lake Erie at Buffalo. Many branches were constructed leading into the main line. Good roads increased the flow of emigrants. Trees were falling, lands made productive, demand for everything raised by the farmers, demand for laborers and mechanics;

activity and life prevailed everywhere. After such activity did reaction set in? No, the price of land advanced from year to year, the advance was real not speculative. The great wagons now became larger and more numerous; 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and teams with 9 horses traveled on the Mohawk turnpike. The teams "were continuous." Other evidence says, "at times 12 to 20 were in sight." It was difficult to find stabling for horses and floor room for teamsters to sleep (they occupied no beds), who slept on their overcoats or home-made blankets, which they spread on the bar room floor. Regular freighters carried a sort of mattress about two feet wide to sleep upon. It was rolled up and strapped into a roll each morning and put into the wagon.

The number of teams increased each year, so did the taverns, until they numbered one in every mile of the road; even the teamsters to obtain accommodations, detached a horse and sent a person in advance to engage night quarters.

All teamsters desired stable room for their horses. If they could not be had, they were compelled to leave them without covering. The farmers who carried their products to Albany, also carried food and hay for their horses and provisions for themselves, which were cooked at home and carried in a wooden box. At the stopping places, hot coffee, beer or strong drink could be added to the meal. A farmer on his return from Albany, when he left Schenectady, tried in vain to get stable room for his horses at every tavern until near Amsterdam. His two horses at last were stabled; he fed the m o u t s which he brought from home, he had no hay left. The stable provided enough hay for night and morning. His bill was 18 cents.

The regular freighters carried a feed trough which could be fastened upon the wagon tongue. Hay and oats were obtained, and also their meals at a tavern. They could not carry horse feed as did the farmers, who only traveled a short distance from home.

As it was at times impossible to obtain stable room for horses, freighters supplied themselves with oil cloth coverings for protecting their horses during the night.

WAGON TIRES.

The turnpike company found that the common road wagons with narrow tires soon cut grooves into the track. To overcome that, they offered to pass all wagons free which had tires six inches or greater in width. These benefited the roadway. Such wagons were not compelled to turn out unless they met one of like width of tire.

CARGOES.

The cargoes of the wagons when going eastward consisted chiefly of wheat, oats, hemp, whiskey, potash and salt. Going west they carried merchandise for the western stores.

RATES.

Freight rates from Albany to Buffalo were at first five dollars per hundred weight; competition reduced the price to \$1.25; from Albany to Utica, \$1.00 per 112 pounds.

WAGONS.

The regular freight wagon boxes were painted light blue or slate color. The rear end could be lifted from its sockets, on it hung the feed trough. Under the rear axletree, a tar bucket and water pail were suspended. In the center of one side of the body was a small tool chest with a slanting lid. It contained hammer, wrench, pincers, currycomb, etc. Such were known as Pennsylvania wagons.

BELLS.

Many of the regular freighters decked the two rear horses each with three open bells; such were suspended from the iron arch fastened upon the hames and collar. The sound was musical not rattling like sleigh bells. I remember seeing freighters' teams with five horses all wearing bells. I can speak somewhat from experience, having made purchases for one wagon load of merchandise; collected it by drays to one place, then saw to its being loaded to be carried to

its destination by a freighter from the city of Philadelphia.

HORSES.

The horses of the freighters were generally large and fat. The load weighed three to four tons. They were known as Pennsylvania horses. Their harness was broad, heavy and strong.

BAR ROOMS.

As already stated, the taverns numbered one in every mile. Within fifty miles of Albany, there were 52 taverns and 52 bar rooms. Whiskey cost only 25 cents per gallon. New England rum was the usual drink. Without it no one thought it was then possible to do work or hold a funeral. For Col. Peter Wagner's funeral, who lived and died near Fort Plain, six gallons were purchased for \$9 in 1813. Such rooms were mostly heated by a large open fire place; stoves had not yet been invented, or at least had not been introduced. Some had a large stone or bricked base in the center of the bar room, slightly higher than the wooden floor. On it was a sheet iron box; in it the wood fire was made. A pipe carried off the smoke. It heated the room better than the other method.

Another method was to heat the bar room from the kitchen, by means of an iron box, consisting of four cast iron plates about six feet in length, and one end plate which closed up the end in the bar room; the end in the kitchen was not closed—there the cooking was done. A stone wall divided the two apartments. This method was practiced also on farms. Authority. the late John A. Failing. Such existed in Fort Kayser in Stone Arabia.

Some taverns had bunks with wooden covers along the side of the room. On the cover, the teamster eat his lunch; when he opened the lid, he had a box raised from the floor to sleep in. Such luxurious accommodations were not the rule, but the exception. One favorite stopping place was McGowan's, in winter noted for its warm bar room and good fare and drinks. His fire-places were adjoining each other, showing a heating front of about 15 feet. To keep up the fire, he collected quantities of dry

pine stumps; those consume slowly, and once on fire, never stop burning. The bar room was large, but only about 7½ feet high; a tall man with a hat on his head nearly touched the ceiling. It was bespattered with blood, the effect of the many fights which occurred, for it was the headquarters of the bullies of the turnpike. When asked 'why the stains were not removed, he said: "They showed that persons had been there who understood business." Fights were frequent, the people were rough brawn.

At another much frequented place, an intoxicated Irishman without money, asked the landlord for a drink. He said "I will give you a drink," roughly putting the fellow out by force, took him to the water trough in front of the house, forced the Irishman's head under the water exclaiming, "Now drink."

Some time thereafter, another tipsy Irishman asked for a drink, he had no money to pay. I'll give you a drink said the landlord, marching out the tipsy man to the water trough, intending to treat him as the former man—the fellow quickly laid the landlord into the water trough—he was not drunk, it was a regular plan to obtain revenge.

VOLUME OF BUSINESS DONE.

As no reports could be found, it is impossible to state it; one can only surmise. An aged citizen, son of a former landlord at Palatine Bridge, remembers that his father stabled 82 horses one night.

Stage lines existed east and west of Albany ere the turnpikes were constructed, before 1790. Persons traveled on horseback (both male and female); others by their own conveyance, but after the pike was completed, traveling greatly increased. Then a better class of taverns were built to accommodate that trade and private travel.

The first mail received in Schenectady was in April, 1783, over one hundred years after its first settlement. In 1790, the first stage that carried mail, ran from Albany to Schenectady, Johnstown and Canajoharie, once each week. Fare three cents per mile. In 1792, the route extended to Fort Plain, Old Fort Schuyler, (now Utica) and Whitestown, once

every two weeks. In 1794, the route extended to Geneva and Canandaigua. In 1812, says Munsell, "It was not an unusual sight to see 8, 12 and even 14 stages on the Scotia Dyke at Schenectady, at one time." The average fare was four cents per mile.

In 1811, a fast line ran day and night, from Albany to Buffalo in three days. The same company sent four coaches east and four west each day. The horses were kept on a trot nearly all the time, the speed was ten miles per hour. The horses were changed every nine to twelve miles. The fare in 1831 was reduced to four cents per mile, probably to compete with Erie canal packets. The route, according to Gordon's Gazetteer of 1836, was via Onondaga, Auburn, Seneca Falls, Canandaigua, Rochester, Batavia and Buffalo.

In 1833, the turnpike company surrendered its rights to the railroad company, the latter paid \$22.50 per share for the turnpike stock.

The foregoing shows the beginnings and progressions on earth roads and its general growth after the pike was built. As the competing lines were established reduced rates followed; the business was growing until the completion of the Erie canal in 1825. While the canal was open the stages carried fewer passengers. During the winter and early spring the stages were still supported, but business became less and less, and in about 1843 they stopped running. Tolls were collected long after that date.

TAVERN SIGNS.

The tavern signs were of the swing order, painted on both sides. Those named after animals, such as Red Lion, Black Horse, White Horse, White Bear and Black Bear were most numerous. Among the unusual ones was one in the town of Herkimer, at North Ilion. On one side was painted a gentleman on horse back, richly clad and elegantly mounted. Below it was the motto: "I am going to law." On the reverse side was a dilapidated man and horse with the motto: "I have been to law."

Another represented a traveler on foot on one side; on the other a repre-

THE TWELVE GATES BETWEEN UTICA AND
SCHENECTADY.

- 1 Schenectady.
- 2 Swartz's 8 miles west (now Cranes village).

3 Caughnawaga (now Fonda).
4 Schenck's Hollow. (a little east of it)
west of the Nose.

5 East of Wagner's Hollow road (now
cheese factory).

6 Garoga Creek, a little east of it.

7 St. Johnsville, lower end of it.

8 East Creek Bridge.

9 Fink's Ferry, east of Little Falls.
10 West Canada Creek (Herkimer).
11 Sterling, six miles east of Utica.
12 Utica (formerly Old Fort Schuyler).

In the beginning of the 19th century, many charters were granted by the state of New York, for constructing turnpike roads. The Great Western was located further south. It started at Albany touched Carlisle, Cherry Valley, Otsego, Chenango, Owego, Dansville, Aurora and Buffalo. At Chenango, a branch to Utica connected both roads. The above, and also the route of the northern road were found in "Gorden's Gazetee" for 1836.

No statistics have been found, they were private corporations. No reports were required by the state, and the turnpike officials have all gone to a land where wings, not wheels are used.

John Meyer of Herkimer, Dan'l Paris of Johnstown and James Murdoch of Schenectady, were officers of the Mohawk turnpike in 1803. In 1843, stages were taken off the Mohawk pike.

Benton's history of Herkimer county, says: "It was an immense thoroughfare for travel."

Benjamin DeWitt, in 1807, made out a complete statement of the then existing roads, published in "Transactions of the society for the promotion of useful arts in the state of New York."

"Roads then existed from the Hudson river to Lake Erie, a distance of 350 miles. Eighty-eight companies had been incorporated for turnpikes and bridges with a capital of over five millions and one-half of dollars, all within the period of seven years, embracing more than

3,000 miles of road. Of these, 900 miles were then completed and were taking toll.

The longest continuous road was from the Massachusetts line, near Lebanon Springs to Albany, Schenectady, Utica, Canandaigua to Black Rock on Lake Erie—length 324 miles. This transient review of our turnpike roads will enable us to form a competent idea of the flourishing condition of the state, and the accelerated progress of her improvements. It will enable us to estimate how far these improvements are calculated to favor the new settlements, to promote the increase of the state and to facilitate the transportation of produce and merchandise from its interior and remote parts, as well as to draw large supplies from the neighboring states."

REMINISCENCES

The distinguished editor of the Albany Evening Journal, Thurlow Weed, in his autobiography, describing a trip downward in 1824, says: "Distance traveled in one day 64 miles. At Cayuga Bridge, the stage drove up to the tavern to water the horses. It was a dark and rainy night, the stage was full inside and out. A lady, closely veiled, came up to the steps, who was, as the keeper of the hotel said, very anxious, on account of sickness in the family where she resided, to get to Goodwin's that evening. The passengers said it was impossible, as there were already nine of them inside, but Mr. Spencer prompted by his sympathies or his politeness, as it was but four miles, thought a lady ought not to be refused a passage and offered, if she chose to accept it, a seat on his lap. The offer was accepted, the lady took her seat and the coach dashed off. At Goodwin's tavern, where the lady got out, a light was brought to enable her to find some baggage. When she removed her veil, a very ebony colored individual of the female gender was revealed to the consternation of Mr. Spencer and the amusement of the other passengers."

"A stage driver with four live horses was an institution. They would dash up to the post office and while waiting for the mail, gracefully throw his whip lash

over the front horses playfully, and when approaching a place blow his horn, crack his whip and crack jokes."

STAGE CONVERSATION.

He relates a phrenological discussion in which Gov. Yates floored his antagonist by saying: "My head is not as long as Gov. Clinton's but it is a good deal t'icker." There were generally several intellectual persons aboard. One Myron Holly, a cultured man, could recite from memory by the hour, gems from British poets. A Mr. Grenger would, in the evening, recite from Burns, Moore and others, and a Mr. Richard L. Smith of Auburn, with his wit and drolleries would shorten the miles. The jokes and jibes of the stage drivers would, as a class, be as racy and quaint as "Samuel in Pickwick."

At Couch's tavern, East Canada Creek, a good meal was always served. Failing's, St. Johnsville, was noted for warm rooms in winter and good fare. At Kane's store, (Canajoharie) there were five brothers, who resided at different cities, distinguished merchants. They were all gentlemen of education, accomplished and refined. Sprakers, above the "Nose" was a noted place. Many anecdotes are related of the landlord, Han Yost. The landlord had a dispute with a person, without coming to an agreement. Spraker ended the discussion by saying: "I tell you there's worse men in hell than you are, Wagner," (pausing with eyes toward the floor) "but they are all chained."

Stage travel as described by an English gentleman, named Fowler in 1831:

"Roads to Utica very rough—it is called Baggtown. Stage driver does not look for fees, as in England saying, "Please I stop here." At Inns, look for no bowing landlord or waiter, the bar room is the only inhabited room. Within it are conveniences for washing, a comb and brush attached together by a string from the ceiling used by all comers and goers. The walls are covered with advertisements, lectures, quack medicines, auctions, stage lines, new shad, Wadsworth's cheese, stray horse, a trunk gone, etc."

TOLL GATES.

"Toll gates do not swing on hinges, as in England, but lift up by the portcullis—a custom used in countries, referred to by that beautiful and sublime passage in Psalms, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up ye everlasting doors and the King of Glory shall come in."

We close the second period of commercial highways by noting their feeble but difficult beginnings: First—The Inland Navigation company comprising 211 miles of which 6 miles only were by canal. Second—The turnpikes which competed with the Navigation company, those existed during 40 to 45 years. They developed the interior of the state so that the building of the Erie Canal became a necessity in 1825. The canal was the lever which raised this state to an Empire. The canal in time was succeeded by the railroad, the fourth period which exists at this time. The direction of travel first adopted was followed by all, by it we go to the Pacific Ocean to China and Japan. It encircles the globe,

the means of going have changed, but the direction is the same.

These are important features in the early history of the state of New York and of the Mohawk Valley, scarcely noticed by historians and not mentioned at all by school histories, by which the scholars of the state of New York are supposed to be correctly instructed, they do not even mention the matter. They begin with the building of the Erie Canal. What would be thought of a history of the American Revolution, the writer beginning with Washington crossing the Delaware? These imperfect histories are the cause why the present and former generations were not informed on this important subject of early New York history.

The school histories are the fountains, which if revised, would at once mend the matter; it could be done by an appendix of a few pages.

Let us direct our efforts toward requesting such publishers to insert what has been omitted, that seems to be a duty societies and educators owe to the which present and future generations of New York.

RELIGION IN THE COLONY OF NEW YORK.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, December 14, 1897.

Religion in some form is the great concern of mankind. It is the most potent factor in the growth, social development and civilization of nations. It may be embryonic and crude, and yet it enters into the web and woof of national character; and the historian who fails to give it attention will but imperfectly write the story of any people. It played an important part in the early settlement of this country, and many of the early settlers came here under its influence. They brought their religion with them, and however much they may have failed to practice its precepts, their belief in its tenets was intense and unflinching. For more than one hundred years after Luther, in 1517, nailed his theses to the door of the castle church at Whittenberg and offered to defend them against all opponents, there were no neutrals in religion and men fought bravely and died heroically for their religious opinions.

Hendrick Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed into the Bay of New York and up the Hudson River in 1609. For several succeeding years trading ventures were made by the Dutch to this province, but no attempt was made to colonize it until 1623 when the Dutch West India Company, chartered in 1621, sent over here thirty families; and there-

after emigrants from Holland continued to come here.

In 1626, there was neither a clergyman nor schoolmaster in the province, and two laymen were appointed to read the scriptures and the creeds to the people on Sunday. The first minister, Rev. Jonas Michaelius, came here from Holland in 1628. At the first administration of the Lord's Supper by him, soon after his arrival, there were fifty communicants. In a letter written by him to a Dutch Reformed clergyman at Amsterdam, he described the Indians as follows: "As to the natives of the country, I find them entirely savage and wild, strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as posts, proficient in all wickedness and godlessness; devilish men who serve nobody but the devil, that is, the spirit which in their language they call Maneto, under which title they comprehend everything that is subtle and crafty, and beyond human skill and power. They have so much witchcraft, divination, sorcery and wicked tricks that they cannot be held in by any bands or locks. They are thievish and treacherous as they are tall; and in cruelty they are more inhuman than the people of Barbary and far exceed the Africans."

In 1608, the Puritans, with their minister, Rev. John Robinson, fled from England to escape from persecution

there to Holland, and settled at Leyden. There they organized a congregation, and enjoyed the religious freedom which was denied them in their native land. They were not however entirely satisfied with their home in Holland; and in 1619, they applied to the Dutch government for permission to go to and settle on the Hudson River in New Netherlands, promising to take with them four hundred families. The government declined to comply with a portion of their requests; and then in 1620, a portion of them crossed the Atlantic and landed at Plymouth and stamped their characteristics upon the religion and politics of New England. It would be an interesting speculation, in which I cannot now indulge, to consider what would have been the course of politics and religion here if the Puritan Pilgrims had come here, and what it would have been in New England if they had not gone there.

A room was first fitted up for religious services in New Amsterdam in 1626 in the loft of a horse mill within the fort, where prayers were read for seven years. Then, in 1633, a wooden church was erected much in appearance like a barn on the shore of the East River; and Domine Everardus Bogardus was installed as minister. That church edifice was used until 1642 when a new edifice was erected within the walls of the fort. Some difficulty was encountered in raising the money to build the church. After many subscriptions of money had been obtained for the purpose, much yet remained to be raised; and it is said that a little management, which would do credit even to the church builders of these days, extricated the projectors from their difficulty. A daughter of Domine Bogardus was opportunely to be married. The principal citizens, were invited to the wedding, and wine circulated freely and all were merry. When the festivities had reached their height, the subscription paper was produced and the excited guests vied with each other in the amount of their donations. There were some the next morning who would feign have recalled their reckless liberality. But it was too late. The hilar-

ious Dutchman had been caught and they were held to their subscriptions.

Domine Bogardus was a forceful character and administered his ministerial office with a high hand. He rebuked Governor VanTwiller for his conduct in public affairs, and anathematized him from the pulpit as a child of the devil, and declared that he would give him "such a shake from the pulpit on the next Sunday as would make him shudder." And from the pulpit he also afterward denounced Governor Keith as a vessel of wrath and a fountain of woe and trouble. Keith retorted by having cannon fired, drums beaten, and all kinds of noisy games carried on about the church on Sunday. In the governmental records of the year 1838, it is recorded that "for slandering the Rev. E. Bogardus a woman was obliged to appear at the sound of a bell in the fort before the Governor and Council and to say that she knew that he was honest and pious and that she lied falsely." Domine Bogardus was the second husband of Aneke Jans, who at her death transmitted to her heirs the real estate which now so enriches Trinity church in New York city.

The first church in Albany was the Dutch church erected about 1642, and Domine Magapolensis was its first minister. The first English church there was St. Peter's, completed in 1716, and its first rector was Rev. Thomas Barclay.

The Dutch who came here were generally tolerant in matters of religion; and all the inhabitants generally enjoyed freedom of conscience. The consequence was that the colony was the asylum of those who fled from persecution in Europe and the Provinces of New England; and here were found Huguenots, Quakers, Catholics, Baptists and other sects generally living together in harmony. Governor Stuyvesant, the last of the Dutch governors was a stern Calvinist, and he cruelly persecuted Baptists, Lutherans, and Quakers, and endeavored to make his church the state church. But he was rebuked by the directors of the West India Company. They wrote him, "Let every one remain

free, so long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government. * * * * * Let every peaceable citizen enjoy freedom of conscience. This maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land. Tread in these steps and you shall be blessed." When the English took this colony from the Dutch in 1664, the Dutch secured in the articles of capitulation a provision that "The Dutch shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline."

During the Dutch ascendancy here there were but few churches, all Dutch Reformed—one in New York, one at Albany, one on Long Island, and possibly one more; and but three or four ministers. As late as 1650 there was a time when there was but one minister in the entire colony.

The Dutch ministers made no serious efforts to christianize the Indians, considering the task to be hopeless. They sent no missionaries to live or labor among them, and did not much come in contact with them, except that the minister at Albany devoted some attention to them. It is said that the clergy at New York succeeded in teaching one young savage the prayers so that he could repeat the responses of the church and also read and write well. He was furnished with the bible and was sent to evangelize the heathen, but he pawned the book for brandy, became a thorough beast and did more harm than good.

The Dutch were generally Calvinists belonging to the Reformed church and their ministers were treated by their people with great consideration. There was much formality in their services, which were always conducted in Dutch until the year 1664 when the first English sermon was preached in a Dutch church in the colony. Their church customs were peculiar. The officiating minister was always clothed in a black silk gown with large flowing sleeves; and he preached from a high circular pulpit covered with a sounding

board. A pew was set aside for the deacons, and the clerk occupied a place in that pew. The clerk prefaced the sermon in the morning by reading a chapter from the bible, and in the afternoon by chanting the apostolic creed. All notices designed to be publicly read were received by him from the sexton, then inserted into the end of a long pole, and thus passed to the minister in his lofty pulpit. Before entering the pulpit, the minister raised his hat before his face and silently asked a blessing upon his labors. After uttering the concluding words of his text, he exclaimed, "Thus far!" before proceeding with his sermon. He had an hour glass at his right side and was entitled to an hour for his sermon; and when the last grain of sand had run out of the glass, the clerk gave three raps with his cane and brought the sermon to a close. Then the deacons rose in their pew, listened to a short address from the minister, and with velvet bags and bells hung to long rods went among the congregation from pew to pew collecting alms for the poor. A story is told of a domine, who, one hot summer day, seeing the clerk asleep and the people drowsy, quietly turned over the hour glass, and after seeing the sand run out for the second time, remarked to the congregation that since they had been patient in sitting through two glasses he would now proceed with the third.

Some of these customs came down far into this century. I can remember when the deacons in the Dutch church here sat in their pew and took the Sunday collections in bags at the ends of long poles with bells to attract the attention of the drowsy or reluctant givers of alms for the poor and the expense, of the church.

After the government of the province passed to the English in 1664, the Dutch Reformed church soon ceased to be the dominant church, and other denominations came here from England and Holland. Chaplains of the English church came here with the soldiers and officiated in the forts at New York and Albany; and that church became and re-

maintained during the colonial period substantially the established church, supported by taxation where it existed; and its church edifices were in some cases built by taxation.

After the reformers in the sixteenth century broke away from the church of Rome, being released from the shackles of authority, they followed many different paths. There was independent thinking in matters of religion. The bible was taken as the only standard of faith, and every reformer in Germany and Holland claimed the right to interpret it according to his best lights. The result in a few years was many warring sects; and representatives of those sects soon found their way to this colony, attracted here by the toleration practiced in matters of religion.

In 1678, Governor Andrus answering certain questions of the Lords of Trade concerning the province, wrote that "There are religions of all sorts—one church of England, several Presbyterians and Independents, Quakers, Anabaptists of several sects, some Jews, but Presbyterians and Independents most numerous and substantial. * * * * There are about twenty churches or meeting places, of which about half are vacant, their allowance like to be from forty to seventy pounds a year and a house and garden."

In a memoir by M. Lamonthe, a Catholic, on Acadia, New England and Virginia, in 1692, he said: "The plantation of New York was composed of Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Jews, Quakers, Abadiens, French Protestants and some Catholics, and that each sect had its church and freedom of religion."

Col. Thomas Dongan was governor of the province during the reign of James II, and he was a Roman Catholic. While he was here, the Catholics increased in numbers and most of the colonial officers including the mayor and collector were Catholics, and the city of New York was practically under their control. In a report made by him to the home government in 1686, he said: "Every town ought to have a minister. New York has first a chaplain belonging

to the fort of the Church of England, secondly a Dutch Calvinist, thirdly a French Calvinist, fourthly a Dutch Lutheran. Here be not many of the church of England, few Roman Catholics, abundance of Quakers, preachers men and women, women especially, singing Quakers, ranting Quakers, Sabatarians, anti Sabatarians, some Anabaptists, some Independents, some Jews, in short of all sorts of opinions there are some and the most part none at all.

* * * * * The most prevailing opinion is that of the Dutch Calvinists.

* * * * * It is the endeavor of all persons here to bring up their children and servants to that opinion which themselves profess, but this I observe they take no care of the conversion of their slaves."

In January 1689, after William and Mary became the sovereigns of England, the militia of the city of New York addressed a memorial to them complaining of the arbitrary and oppressive rule of the papists and the exclusion of protestants from all participation in the government. It was then that Liesler headed an insurrection against the provincial government, took possession of the fort and administered the government and disarmed the Catholics. In the instructions given by the home government in January 1689 to Col. Henry Sloughter, Governor of the Colony, he was commanded to give liberty of conscience to all persons except papists; and in 1692, the fourth year of the reign of the same sovereigns, Governor Fletcher was similarly instructed; and so was Governor Hunter in 1709. In 1697 Governor Bellomont was instructed not to prefer any minister to any ecclesiastical benefice here without a certificate from the Bishop of London that he was conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; and all schoolmasters were to be licensed by the same Bishop.

On account of the hostility between the English and French, the Roman Catholics who were mostly French were always regarded by the other colonists with suspicion. Except during the

reign of King James, they were here as in England, excluded from all public employment. There was always fear that they might communicate information to the French in Canada, and that French Catholic missionaries among the Indians might incite hostility to the English and ally the Indians to the French. Hence the English made constant endeavor to thwart the Roman Catholic missionaries among the Indians. After the English revolution in 1688, when King James II was driven from the throne and took refuge with the French, the few Roman Catholics here were put under strict surveillance. At an aldermanic election in the city of New York, in 1689, they were excluded from the right to vote. Their number must have considerably diminished for in 1696, Governor Fletcher found but ten Roman Catholics in the city of New York. He caused them to be disarmed and required them to give bonds for their good behavior or to be confined in prison; and at that time they were not permitted to come into the province, and liberty of conscience was secured to all the colonists but Catholics.

In 1698 Governor Bellomont writing to the English Board of Trade said: "Some French that passed for Protestants in this province during the war have since been discovered to be Papists, and one would suppose their business was to give intelligence to Canada," and he refused denization to French Catholics.

On August 27th, 1700, the sachems of the five nations came to Albany to meet Governor Bellomont, and they asked him for Protestant ministers to be located at Onondaga. They were evidently looking for some material advantages for they said: "It was the French custom to clothe all those Indians that are baptized and received into their church. This we presume is a great inducement for our people to turn Papists.

* * * * We fear that Corlear will not clothe the converts as the governor of Canada does, for when our Indians are hunting and have bad luck, taking nothing, they go to Canada and the governor clothes them by which means they

are induced to turn Papists." In 1701 the same governor complained that Irish recruits just come from Ireland were Papists and that they were mutinous. Lieutenant Governor Clarke writing to the English Board of Trade in 1741 said there was reason to suspect that "Popery had a hand" in the great Negro plot of that year, and upon the confession of two negroes "that the Roman Catholics told the Negroes that there was no sin or wickedness in burning the homes and taking the lives of the white people." No one now believes there was any ground for this suspicion which was induced by the prejudice then existing against the Catholics and the excited and prejudiced state of the public mind.

The Catholics during the time of the English dominion, were not permitted to build any church in the colony; and they built their first church after the formation of the state government in 1786 in the city of New York and their second church in 1797 in the city of Albany.

The number of the clergymen of the English church was at no time great during the colonial period. After the conquest of the colony by the English, not one in ten of the inhabitants was an adherent of that church. After Fletcher came here as governor in 1692, one of his chief aims was to establish the English church here. This was opposed by a majority of the inhabitants who spoke Dutch and regarded the Dutch church as the established church: After some difficulty, he succeeded in getting the colonial assembly to pass an act which furthered his aim. The act was passed Sept. 22, 1693, the fifth year of William and Mary, and was entitled "An act for Settling a Ministry and Raising a Maintenance for them in the City of New York and the Counties of Richmond, Westchester and Queens." Its preamble was as follows: "Whereas profaness and licentiousness hath of late overspread this province for want of a settled ministry throughout the same; to the end that the same may be remedied and the ordinances of the Lord duly administered"; and it was enacted that a

Protestant minister should be called and inducted within one year—one for the City of New York; one for the County of Richmond; two for the County of Westchester, one of whom was to have the care of Westchester, Eastchester, Yonkers and the Manor of Pelham, and the other to have the care of Rye, Mamarenock, and Redford, and two for Queens County, one of whom was to have the care of Jamaica and the adjacent farms and towns, and the other to have the care of Hamstead and the adjacent towns; and the following salaries were provided in the act: For the City and County of New York one hundred pounds; for the two precincts of Westchester one hundred pounds—to each fifty pounds to be paid in country produce at money price; for the county of Richmond forty pounds to be paid in the same way; and for the two precincts of Queens County one hundred and twenty pounds—to each sixty pounds to be paid in the same way. The salaries were to be raised by taxes upon the city and counties. The word Protestant in this act was construed to mean a minister of the Church of England, and all the inhabitants of the four counties were compelled by the payment of taxes to support that church whatever might be their religious opinions.

In pursuance of that act Trinity Church in New York City was incorporated and built. It was completed and opened for worship, February 6th, 1697, Rev. William Vesey having been inducted as its first rector; and he continued to be rector until July 11th, 1746, nearly fifty years. The church thus erected in 1696 and 1697 was a small square edifice with a very tall spire. A pew in it was appropriated to the mayor and common council and a sermon was annually preached to them on the day of the city election, which was supposed to quicken their consciences and stimulate them to the discharge of their civic duties. By the act above mentioned the English church became the established church. In 1671, Col. Lovelace, then Governor, bought the land left by Aneke

Jans of her heirs and it was incorporated with the King's farm; and in 1703, Queen Ann presented to Trinity Church the King's farm, which now constitutes its great wealth.

The salary of the English minister in New York remained one hundred pounds raised by taxation, until 1703, when it was, by an act of the colonial government, raised to one hundred and sixty pounds, during the life of Mr. Vesey, then rector; but it was subsequently reduced, because I find that in 1762, the salary was one hundred pounds in the city, and elsewhere in the vicinity but fifty pounds, raised by taxation. Governor Bellomont, writing in 1700 to the secretary of the English Board of Trade, said he did not like ministers bred at Cambridge College, in New England for Church of England ministers, "for in New England the ministers pray extempore and mightily decry set forms of prayer inasmuch that they never use the Lord's prayer at any time."

The society "for propagating the gospel in foreign parts," was organized in London sometime before 1758 and its plain purpose was to fight infidelity and popery, and it fostered the early church of England churches in this country and sent missionaries here. And Kings, now Columbia College, in the City of New York, was chartered in 1754 for the same purpose. The Presbyterians opposed its incorporation.

The Quakers as early as 1686, were quite numerous in the colony; and they were found mostly in the counties of Westchester and Queens. Sometimes, then as since, the garb of the Quaker was worn for effect by those not entitled to it. In 1699, Governor Bellomont complained that many Jacobites in Queens county pretended to be Quakers to avoid taking the oaths of allegiance to King William, "but soon after, at the election of assemblymen, these very persons pulled off the mask of Quakerism and were got very drunk and fought bloodily." In 1733, complaint was made against the sheriff of Westchester county that he refused to take the votes of thirty-eight Quakers at the election for

members of assembly, although they were well-known, reputable citizens, and in fact qualified voters. His answer to the charge was that they refused to take the proper oath when tendered to them. In 1734, a colonial act was passed granting to Quakers the same privileges which they possessed under the statutes of England. Prior to that they could not vote without taking the oath required of other voters and that their conscientious scruples forbade their taking. Governor Cosby said of them: "It is certain they are not the most tractable people where they are numerous, as in one or two counties they are."

The Presbyterians, during most of the colonial period, were the most numerous denomination. Their first minister in this colony came here in 1706 and was Rev. Francis McKemie. The first Presbyterian church in the colony was built in the city of New York in 1719. The first Baptist church was erected in New York City in 1760. The first Methodist church in the colony was erected in New York in 1768 and was called Wesley chapel.

A few Jews came here at an early day, and their first synagogue was erected in the City of New York in 1730. In 1737 it was decided in a contest over the office of member of assembly that the Jews had no right to vote for assemblymen; and they were excluded from office as they were in England. There was at that time great prejudice against them in the colony, and they occasionally suffered acts of violence and indignities which went unredressed in the courts. Their talent for money getting had an interesting illustration. In 1765 a Jew by the name of Myers took two Mohawk Indians to England for exhibition, where they excited great interest and curiosity. While he was exhibiting them in a tavern in London, the attention of the King was called to the matter, and he caused them to be returned to this country, directed to Sir William Johnson, at the public expense.

I cannot find that during the Dutch ascendancy much attention was paid to

the conversion of the slaves to Christianity, or to the irreligious instruction. Soon after the conquest of the colony by the English, the Colonial Governor was instructed to have laws passed looking to the spiritual welfare of the slaves; but the colonists were reluctant, fearing that the baptism of slaves would emancipate them; and it was not until 1706 that a Colonial law was passed quieting their scruples by providing that the baptism of a slave should not result in emancipation. After that, slaves were frequently found kneeling at the same altar with their masters.

After the colony passed under the dominion of the English, there was much missionary effort among the Indians, stimulated by pure religious zeal for their spiritual welfare, and also by the desire to counteract the influence of the Jesuits who came among them from Canada, and whose efforts were supposed to be directed to attract their trade from Albany to Canada, and their friendship to the French in the war with the English. This missionary work was greatly fostered by Sir William Johnson, effectually aided by Rev. Dr. Wheelock who established a school at Lebanon, Conn., for the education of Indian boys, at which the famous chief Brant was educated; and by Rev. John Christopher Hartwick, the founder of Hartwick Seminary in Otsego County; and by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the founder of Hamilton College. The latter learned their language and was a missionary among them, particularly the Oneidas, for forty years commencing in 1766. The Rev. Dr. John Stewart was the last missionary among the Mohawks, and he could preach and converse with them in their own language. The book of Common Prayer was printed after much difficulty in the Mohawk tongue about 1769; and was used among the Indians. It was printed in New York by William Weyman and Hugh Gaines. The whole of the bible was never translated into the language of any of the Six Nations. A small portion of it was. There were many devoted and self sacrificing Catholic Mis-

sionaries among the Six Nations, the most famous of whom was Father Jogues. He was a Jesuit Missionary who came from France to Quebec in 1636. While on his way to his labors among the Hurons in 1642, he was captured by the Mohawks; and after suffering the most excruciating tortures he was in 1643 taken to Eort Orange, from whence by the kindly aid of the Dutch and the payment of a large ransom by them he was enabled to escape from the Indians, and he returned to France. After remaining in France for a time recuperating his health and strength, he was again impelled by his religious zeal to return to the Mohawks as a missionary among those most cruel savages, and after enduring much extreme cruelty from them he was killed at Caughnawaga, Montgomery county. Thus died the first and only missionary martyr in this colony, as the historian Parkman says "one of the purest examples of Roman Catholic virtue which this western continent has seen." Pilgrimages of pious Catholics are annually made to his shrine at Auriesville.

While witchcraft was extensively believed in this colony as it was all over the Christian world in the seventeenth century, the belief never produced the disastrous results here which it did in New England. So far as I can learn, there was never but one trial for witchcraft in this colony, and that was in the City of New York in the year 1665, many years before witches were hung at Salem. The prisoners were Ralph Hall and Mary his wife, and they were indicted for causing the death by witchcraft of George Wood and his infant child, at a place on Long Island. They both plead not guilt and according to the legal forms of that day "threw themselves to be tried by God and the country." The case was brought to trial before a jury and the jury brought in the following verdict: "We have seriously considered the case submitted to our charge against the prisoners at the bar, and having well weighed the evidence, we find that are some suspicions by the evidence of what the woman

is charged with, but nothing considerable of value to take away her life. But in reference to the man, we find nothing considerable to charge him with." One would have supposed that this verdict would have resulted in the discharge of the prisoners; but not so. The court thereupon gave this sentence: "That the man should be bound body and goods for his wife's appearance at the next sessions and so on from session to session as long as they stay within this government; in the meanwhile to be of the good behavior." So they were returned into the Sheriff's custody and upon entering into a recognisance they were released. The proof upon the trial seems to have been as strong against them as it was against the witches who suffered death at Salem. Subsequently in the year 1670, Katherine Harrison, a widow, moved from Weathersfield in the Colony of Connecticut to Westchester; and her neighbors made complaint against her that she was a witch; and she was summoned to appear before Governor Nicolls at the fort in New York; and by him was required to give a bond for her good behavior, until the charge against her could be investigated. The case was subsequently examined and nothing being found against her, she was released from her bonds and permitted to remain in the colony; and so ended all the prosecutions here for witchcraft; and this colony was spared the ignominy of executing witches which stained the judicial annals of England, and New England and of many other countries.

We have here an illustration of what I have frequently observed in my reading that in prosecutions for witchcraft, women were in all countries the most frequent sufferers. In Salem, of the nineteen who were hung in 1692 for witchcraft, thirteen were women.

The Dutch were a merry people. They were not ascetics like the Independants and Puritans. They were fond of dancing and other amusements. They went to church on Sunday, and afterwards visited their neighbors, or indulged in innocent recreations, and sometimes

sports which refreshed both soul and body. I cannot find that during the Dutch ascendancy, the observance of Sunday was ever enforced by the imposition of any penalties. But in 1682, while Thomas Dongan was Governor, a case occurred at Southbold on Long Island which must have been due to New England Puritanism transplanted there. An ox of Nathaniel Baker strayed from his fold on Saturday and he went in pursuit of it and not finding it on that day he stayed out over night; and the next day, Sunday, finding it he drove it home. For this work on Sunday, he was arrested and fined by the Court of sessions with costs nine pounds, three shillings and three pence which he was obliged to pay. He was also required to enter into bonds in the penalty of twenty pounds for his good behavior. This was not a typical case, and it has no fellow in the annals of this state.

I will now call attention to a few colonial acts bearing upon the subject of religion and illustrating our colonial history and the manners and social condition, of the people. November 3rd, 1685, an act "Against Sabbath Breaking" was passed with this preamble: "For as much as there is nothing more acceptable to God than the true and sincere service and worship of Him according to His holy will, and that the holy keeping of the Lord's day is a principal part of the true service of God which in very many places of this province hath been and now is profaned and neglected by unlawful traveling or journeying upon the day aforesaid, by shooting, horse hunting, horse racing, riding on steeds, unnecessary hunting and tippling in ale houses, taverns and other public houses, and other unlawful exercises and pastimes, also exercising worldly labor, business or work of ordinary calling except work of necessity and charity or other extraordinary occasions to be allowed by some justice of the peace on the Lord's day"; and it was enacted that any person who should be convicted of any of the Sabbath breaking mentioned in the preamble "before any one justice

of the peace, or constable in his absence, of any town by view, confession or proof of one or more sufficient witnesses" should for every offense forfeit and pay the sum of six shillings and eight pence to the use of the town or place where the offense was committed. On the same day another act was passed "Against Swearing and Cursing" with this preamble: "For as much as all profane swearing and cursing is forbidden by the word of God"; and it was enacted "That if any person or persons shall at any time hereafter profanely swear or curse in the hearing of any justice of the peace in the county, or any mayor or head officer in any city, town or village where such offence shall be committed, or shall be thereof convicted by the oath of two witnesses, or by confession of the party before any such justice of the peace, or head officer, every such offender being above the age of twelve years shall for every time so offending forfeit to the use of the poor of such place where such offense shall be committed the sum of one shilling"; and upon the refusal of the offender to pay, it was provided that the sum should be "collected of his goods, and in default of goods that the offender should be committed to the stocks for the space of three whole hours." And it was further enacted that if the offender was under the age of twelve years and should be convicted and should not forthwith pay the penalty of one shilling, he should be whipped by the constable, or by his parent or master in the presence of the constable.

October 27th, 1695, another act was passed "Against profanation of the Lord's day called Sunday", with the following preamble: "Whereas the true and sincere service and worship of God according to His holy will and commandments is often profaned and neglected by many of the inhabitants and sojourners within this province who do not keep holy the Lord's day, but in a disorderly manner accustom themselves to travel, laboring, working, shooting, fishing, playing, horse racing, frequenting of tippling houses and the using

many other unlawful exercises and pastimes upon the Lord's day to the great scandal of the holy Christian faith"; and it was enacted that every person including slaves that should be guilty of the Sabbath breaking mentioned in the preamble should forfeit for every offense the sum of six shillings to be collected of the goods of the offender; and if not so collected, the offender being a white person, was to be set publicly in the stocks for the space of three hours. But if he was an Indian or Negro slave, he was to receive thirteen lashes on the bareback. And it was made lawful for any person to travel on the Lord's day or to do any act of necessity, and to go to service and worship God in any church or lawful meeting within the province and thence to return provided such journey did not exceed twenty miles; and also that it should be lawful for the post or any other person employed in his majesty's service, or for any other person employed to bring a physician or a midwife to travel upon the Lord's day; but this permission did not extend to any native or free Indian not professing the Christian religion.

The next act is one we would scarcely expect to find among the statutes of a colony which had to so large an extent been the home of toleration from its earliest settlement. Its intolerent spirit was due largely to the fact that war then existed and for a long time had existed between England and France, and the Romanists were in the popular mind identified with the cause of France. The act was passed August 9, 1700, and was entitled "Against Jesuits and Popish Ministers," and it had this preamble: "Whereas divers Jesuit priests and Popish missionaries have of late come and for some time have had their residence in the remote parts of this Province and other of His Majesty's adjacent colonies, who by their wicked and subtle insinuations industriously labor to debauch, seduce and withdraw the Indians from their due obedience unto his most Sacred Majesty and to excite and stir them up to sedition, rebellion and hostility against His Majesty's government"; and

it was enacted that every Jesuit and seminary priest, missionary or other spiritual or ecclesiastical person made or ordained by the Pope or See of Rome, residing in the Province, shall depart therefrom; and all such as shall abide or come into the province after the first day of November then next, shall be deemed an incendiary and disturber of the public peace and safety, and an enemy to the true christian religion and shall be adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment; and if any person being so sentenced and actually imprisoned shall break prison and make his escape and he be afterward retaken, he shall suffer the pains of death, penalties and forfeitures as in case of felony; that every person who shall wittingly receive, harbor, conceal, aid, succor and relieve any Romish priest, knowing him to be such, and be thereof convicted, shall forfeit the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds—one-half to the government and the other half to the informer; and such person shall be further punished by being set in the pillory on three several days, and also be required to give security for his good behaviour at the discretion of the court; that it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace to cause any person suspected of being a Romish priest to be apprehended, and if such person shall fail to give satisfactory account of himself to commit him for trial; that it shall be lawful for any person to apprehend without a warrant any Romish priest and to bring him before the governor or any two of the council to be examined and imprisoned in order to his trial unless he can give a satisfactory account of himself; and that, as it will be esteemed and accepted as a good service done for the King by the person who shall seize and apprehend any Romish priest, the Governor with the advice and consent of the Council may suitably reward him, provided that the act shall not extend to any Romish clergy who shall happen to be shipwrecked or through other adversities shall be cast on shore or driven into the Province "so as he continue or abide no longer within the same than he may have opportunity

of passage for his departure; so also as such person immediately upon his arrival shall forthwith attend the Governor if near to the place of his residence, or otherwise on one or more of the Council or next justices of the peace, and acquaint him with his circumstances and observe the directions which they shall give him during his stay in the Province." I cannot find that this act was ever specifically repealed. It probably remained in force for more than three quarters of a century until it was nullified by the adoption of the first state constitution in 1777, by which, in obedience to a public sentiment based upon broader views of public policy and human rights, the freedom of religious belief and practice was secured to all the people of the state.

I must not omit to mention a few facts of local interest. During the Colonial period there were but two churches in the territory now comprised within this county, one in this village and one at Fort Herkimer, called Fort Kouari. The first settlement was made in this village by the Palatines in 1723, and soon after that, a church was built here on the site of the present Reformed church. A church was also built at Fort Herkimer about the same time; and during the whole colonial period and for many years after the two churches were served by the same minister. The present stone church at Fort Herkimer was completed in 1767 and is one of the oldest if not actually the oldest church edifice in the state. These were probably not

the first churches built by the Palatines after their arrival in this country. It is an interesting fact for the descendants of the Palatines residing here that the Palatines who came over with Governor Hunter in 1710 built a church on Broadway in the City of New York on the present site of Grace Episcopal church which was after the English Conquest taken away from the Dutch, as other churches also were, by the adherents of the dominant English church. The Palatines who were sent over here by the English Government in 1708, generally settled at Newburg; and King George, the first, in 1719, granted them a tract of 2,190 acres of land to live on, and to Andrais Volk and Jacob Webber as trustees and to their successors to and for the benefit and behoof of the Luthern minister to serve the people living on the tract, he granted a glebe of five hundred acres. It is noteworthy that Volk now spelled Folk and Webber have always been common names among the descendants of the Palatines who came here, and as the Palatines to whom the tract was granted all subsequently sold their lots therein and removed therefrom, it is not improbable that Volk and Webber came here. Subsequently the glebe was conveyed by the Governor of the Colony to trustees for the benefit of the English church.

I must now bring this paper to a close. I have not exhausted my theme. I have given the outlines which could be filled up with much interesting matter. But the necessities of this occasion forbid greater detail.



1898 PAPERS.



JOHN JOST HERKIMER.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, January 11, 1898.

Who and what sort of man was John Jost Herkimer, the father of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer, the hero, in the revolutionary war of the Mohawk valley? He was born in Germany in the latter part of the seventeenth century. He came to this country with the Palatines in 1710, and with them settled on the Livingston Manor in what is now Columbia county. From thence, after a few years, he and other Palatines emigrated to Schoharie county. While residing there, in 1721, he and other Palatines petitioned Governor Burnet for leave to purchase land of the Indians within this county; and, at a meeting of the Governor and his Council, leave was granted September 9th, 1721. In pursuance of such leave, a grant from the Indians was obtained July 9, 1722. The land granted was on both sides of the Mohawk river beginning below Little Falls and extending to Frankfort, then called Gerrendagaraeu. The Indian grant was followed by the colonial patent dated April 30th, 1725, called the Burnetsfield patent, to 94 persons among whom was Jurgh, John Jost, Madelana and Catherine Herkimer. One hundred acres was intended for each of the patentees, and there were 9,400 acres covered by the patent. The land was divided among the patentees by lot; and John Jost Herkimer drew the lot of one hundred acres

located about one-half a mile east of the Stone church at Fort Herkimer recently owned by James H. Steele and another. Soon after the date of the patent or about that time, he moved upon his lot and there he built a house and lived for many years. His children, five sons and eight daughters, were probably all born there, Nicholas being the eldest. That house survived the revolution, being the only one in that vicinity to which the torch was not applied by the Indians during the revolutionary war. It has disappeared now, although standing as late as about 1850. While his children were still young, and some time before the French and Indian war of 1757, he built a stone mansion on the Mohawk river about three-fourths of a mile west of the Stone church which, before the year 1756, was included within Fort Herkimer. In 1760 he conveyed 500 acres of land in the present town of Danube to his son Nicholas where his monument now stands. He accumulated considerable wealth in land and chattels including slaves, and he died in August 1775 when the first echoes of the revolution began to reverberate through the land.

Until recently these were about all the facts accessible relating to a long and useful life exposed to many hardships and perils and crowned with unusual

success among the stalwart men of his time. Now, by the recent publication of the colonial laws and from other public documents, other facts are obtainable which throw light upon his character and his standing among the men of his day, and show him to have been a real leader among the men of the Mohawk valley.

A trading post was established at Oswego on Lake Ontario, at the mouth of the Oswego river, soon after 1722, and a fort was built there by Governor Burnet in 1727. That fort was maintained until August, 1756, when it was captured and demolished by the French and Indians under Gen. Montcalm. Soon after that year, Oswego came again into the possession of the English, and they rebuilt the fort and were in possession of it in 1760 when Canada having been conquered by the English came under the English Crown. In 1777, Col. St. Leger started from Oswego upon his expedition to the Mohawk Valley. And, after his defeat at Oriskany, he returned there, and then his forces scattered and the fort was left unoccupied. In July, 1778, the Americans under Lieut. McClelland destroyed the fort to prevent, so far as possible, its reoccupation. Some time between 1780 and 1782, the fort was again restored by the English and it remained in their possession until 1796, when, thirteen years after the conclusion of the treaty of peace between this country and Great Britain, in pursuance of the famous Jay Treaty, it was surrendered to our government, being the last post occupied by the British within our territory. During our war with Great Britain, in 1814, the fort was attacked by the British forces under Sir James Yeo, and was captured and again demolished. It was rebuilt in 1839, and has since been occupied as one of our frontier fortifications and is called Fort Ontario.

The trading post at Oswego was established to secure the friendship of the Six Nations and to divert their trade with the French at Montreal to Albany, and it well accomplished its purpose. The fort, when first established there had a garrison of twenty-five men besides a

doctor; and at that time, the Palatines here were the nearest white settlement. The food supplies of the garrison had to be drawn from this region. They were carried in bateaux up the Mohawk river to the present city of Rome, thence to Wood creek, and through Oneida Lake and down the Oswego river to Lake Ontario and the fort. There were several carrying places where the boats and supplies had to be transported by land. Among the earliest contractors with the Colonial government for furnishing supplies to the garrison at the fort was John Jost Herkimer. He was associated with prominent men at Albany and in the Mohawk Valley; and with them he carried on that business for several years. He must have commenced soon after the fort was built, as in September, 1728, in an act of the Colonial Assembly making provision for the supplies furnished to the garrison, I find this appropriation: "To John Jost Herkimer in full of two accounts for riding goods amounting to 23 pounds, five shillings and six pence, the sum of seventeen pounds, eleven shillings." I infer that these accounts were not for supplies, but for transporting, "riding" them. I find by an act passed in December, 1737, that John Jost Herkimer, Henry VanRensselaer Jr., and John Harmanus Wendel had the contract for three years to furnish at the fort each year for victualling the troops, the following supplies: "Wheat meal, 156 bushels; peas, 117 bushels; Indian corn, 39 bushels; pork, 3,224 pounds; beef, 4,836 pounds; rum, 104 gallons; sugar, 104 pounds; and candles of 8 and 10 in a pound, 104 pounds." They were also to furnish at Schenectady, in each of the three years: Brown biscuit, 1,050 pounds; peas, 13½ bushels; pork, 750 pounds; and rum, 12 gallons. These supplies were for the twenty-five men and the doctor going to the fort to relieve the garrison there and for the troops so relieved on their return to Schenectady. They were also in each of the three years to furnish a sufficient number of bateaux to transport the twenty-five men and the doctor with their baggage and also to provide two

able men to assist in going to and coming from Oswego. They were also in each of the three years to carry the baggage of the soldiers and doctor in wagons each way between Albany and Schenectady, and also to furnish sleds or other carriages to transport the bateaux and baggage over the carrying places both ways, "provided that the soldiers march on foot between Albany and Schenectady and over the carrying places;" and for all these supplies and services, they were to receive annually the sum of 456 pounds. This compensation may seem small, but the value of money was much greater then than it is now. The doctor residing at the fort received an annual salary of not more than forty-five pounds. The two associates of John Jost Herkimer were evidently from Albany, as they bear family names that have always been known there. This contract was renewed with the same persons together with Garret A. Lansing, also a citizen of Albany, for two terms of two years each in November, 1740, and October, 1742. In September, 1744, the same contract for two years was made with John Jost Herkimer and Garret A. Lansing; and during the same time, John Jost Herkimer and Jost Petree, a leading man among the Palatines here, also furnished supplies to the garrison for the payment of which the Colonial Assembly in April, 1748, appropriated the sum of seven hundred and fifty-eight pounds and three shillings.

Where did these contractors get the rum which they were bound to furnish under their contracts? Rum on this continent was first manufactured in the New England colonies. It was a general beverage among the people and it was served as rations to the soldiers and was used in trade with the Indians for the purchase of furs, and in the slave trade for the purchase of Negroes. It was not manufactured in the colony of New York prior to the eighteenth century; and there was probably not more than two distilleries of rum in the colony before the revolutionary war. I cannot find that the business of distilling rum was ever carried on in the Mohawk val-

ley; and hence the rum in which the contractors dealt was undoubtedly obtained from Albany which was a great mart for the supply of goods used in the trade with the Indians. The sale of rum to the Indians constituted a large share of the traffic of the Indian traders and out of it they made large profits. The Indians were very fond of it, and would pay the most extravagant prices for it. They traded for it nearly if not quite half of all their furs; and they would make great sacrifices and endure great labor to obtain it. It made them drunk and quarrelsome and their chiefs sometimes protested against its sale to them. This traffic was encouraged and regulated by the colonial government. The Indians called good rum, good milk, and poor rum, bad milk; and while they preferred the good, they were so passionately fond of it that they would take the bad rather than have none. They must have been in some measure the prototypes of the Kentucky statesman who said there was good whiskey and whiskey not so good but no positively bad whiskey.

I find that the contractors generally furnish the beef at the fort by driving the cattle there from this region and there slaughtering them, and in driving the cattle and performing their contracts they were to some extent aided by the Indians.

I cannot find that after 1746 John Jost Herkimer was engaged in furnishing supplies to the fort. He must have been exposed in the business to many hardships and perils, and it is probable that he began to feel the infirmities of age, and that he surrendered the business to younger hands. In the performance of his contracts he was able to find market for the produce of his farms, and for much of the produce of his neighbors in this region; and thus he brought here a supply of money much needed among the poor, industrious and frugal Palatines.

Oswego was at that time the most important post for trade with the Indians in this country, and about the fort were clustered the huts of traders and Indians.

It is probable that John Jost Herkimer and his associates transported the goods of the traders to and from Albany, then the principal fur market on this continent, and in that line also they had a profitable business.

Before the year 1770, there were no public highways west of this place, and very few west of Schenectady, and on the 24th of March 1772 an act was passed "For the better laying out, regulating, clearing and keeping in repair the public roads and highways in the counties of Albany and Tryon." The act divided these counties into districts and appointed commissioners for each district. John Jost Herkimer was appointed one of the commissioners for the Kingsland district, which was on the south side of the river, bounded on the east by a line extending southerly from Little Falls and on the south and west by the limits of the colony. By the same act, his son Nicholas was appointed one of the commissioners of the Canajoharie district, which, with other territory, included the present town of Danube where he lived. It was the duty of these commissioners to regulate, lay out and alter highways within their respective districts. On the 6th of February 1773, a

similar act was passed and in that John Jost Herkimer was again appointed one of the commissioners for the same district, and with the same powers and duties as in the prior act, and he continued to hold that office until April 1775, about four months before his death. His sons Nicholas and Henry are known to have served in the French war and his sons, Nicholas, John and George and several of his grand-children are known to have served in the revolutionary war. His son, John Jost adhered to the British cause and by an act of the legislature passed October 23, 1779, he with other Tories was attainted and convicted of treason and his estate forfeited. Prior to the revolution he filled many county offices. He went to Canada with his family and died there between 1784 and 1787 and some of his descendants now residing in Canada are prosperous and wealthy.

I have thus given the brief outlines of a busy life commencing in Germany in a country devastated by dynastic and religious wars, and transplanted to this country into rude frontier settlements where it was attended with many perils and much hardship and achieved a large measure of success.

THE DUTCH IN NEW NETHERLANDS.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN DRYDEN HENDERSON, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, February 8, 1898.

Have you ever been through the Hudson Valley in September? Have you gazed on the noble river under an autumn sky, and seen that ever changing landscape of rock and forest and mountain? Have you looked on the Catskills and Storm King and Crows Nest, and the Palisades? Have you noted the rich hues and many colors of the ripening leaves? the beautiful points of land extending into the water, and the river broadening in places like a sea, the bays and the islands? The vales where villages and cities nestle and the rugged faces of those rocks which rise in a solid wall from the water's edge?

If you have seen all this, you have been indeed fortunate, for there is nothing on earth more interesting, more beautiful, more magnificent.

It was in September, 1609, that Henry Hudson, an English Captain, under Dutch pay, and with a crew of only 20 men, hardy Dutch and English sailors, in the sturdy little ship, the Half Moon from Amsterdam passed the island of Manhattan, and sailed up the broad river. They were the first white men to embark upon its bosom, and to be charmed with that beautiful scenery which has since delighted thousands of men and women.

No villages, no cities, no beautiful

residences greeted the eye; no cultivated fields, no vineyards, no orchards dotted the landscape, no craft but the bark canoe plied upon the water, no shriek of engine, no rumble of train, no busy hum of humanity disturbed the stillness of that forest, which starting at the very shore, crept up and clothed the lofty peaks.

Here and there a startled deer sprang into the woods, and an equally startled red man stood and gazed in curiosity at the wonderful ship and strange beings who had invaded his country.

Hudson's men had been attacked by the fierce Manhattans, and poor John Coleman had been killed by an arrow and buried on Sandy Hooke at the place since known as Coleman's Point, but the river Indians treated the strangers more kindly and the little ship sailed up the river 150 miles. Hudson landed in several places, traded and feasted with the natives, and then dropped down the stream. He spent three weeks along the banks of the river mostly in friendly intercourse with the natives. The Iriquois of the upper valley were especially well disposed and here began those peaceful dealings between the Dutch and the Mohawks which were never disturbed by war.

The Algonquins of the lower river were subject to the Iriquois, but they

were more savage and troublesome. While near Stony Point, on the return, an Indian was caught stealing goods through the cabin window, the mate of the vessel shot the thief, and the Indians were terrified by the sound of the whiteman's guns. Hudson held two Indians who came on the ship with the idea of taking them to Europe, they escaped on the way up the river, and collecting their friends they attacked the ship with a large force on its return near the upper end of Manhattan Island, but they were driven off with the loss of nine or ten of their number, and Hudson promising to return the next year got off safely and sailed away across the ocean to tell of his adventures, and report to the Dutch East India Company by whom he was employed; but he never again saw Holland, for putting in at Dartmouth, an English port, he was arbitrarily detained, and after much delay, the Half Moon returned to Amsterdam without him.

Hudson himself sailed in 1610 in "The Discovery," an English ship with an English crew to find the north-west passage, so persistently sought by the early navigators. He sailed through Davis strait and into the great northern bay which now bears his name, thinking that he had almost found that elusive passage to India. He explored the bay and wintered in those icy waters, intending to pursue the search in the spring. When the summer of 1611 came the crew demanded to be taken back to England, and Hudson with tears in his eyes, yielded to their demands, gave up the search and began the return voyage, but the crew did not trust him, they mutinied, and taking him and his son, with seven others, they put them in a small boat and cut them adrift to perish. It was one of the most pathetic tragedies of those perilous times.

There is no record of the re-appearance of the Dutch in the waters about Manhattan until the summer of 1613 when Hendrik Christianson in "The Fortune" and Adrian Block in "The Tiger" came over. Block lost his ship and built an-

other which he called "The Unrest" and launched her in the East river. She was the first American built ship to plow the waters of Long Island Sound, and with her, Block explored the Connecticut shore, Narragansett Bay, discovered the island which bears his name, and sailing along the Massachusetts coast was overtaken near Cape Cod by "The Fortune" and leaving his little vessel, he returned to Holland in the larger ship.

While Captain Block was exploring the sound, Christianson had ascended the great river, then called the Mauritius, and had built a fort on Castle Island, a little below where Albany now is, and garrisoned it for a trading station.

In 1614, the country was formally named New Netherlands, and soon after the "United New Netherlands Company" was formed with a charter to last three years.

In 1617, at a place called Tawasentha, (Albany), a treaty of peace and alliance was made with the Iroquois which continued as long as the Dutch dominion in New York lasted.

In 1618, the charter of the company expired by limitation and, in 1621 the Dutch West India Company was chartered, and granted sovereignty over the country from Virginia to New England.

In 1623, thirty families of Walloons, French protestants, came over, to colonize the country. Christian Jacobson Mey, was the first director of the province, but in 1624, he returned to Holland and was succeeded by William Verhulst, and in 1626, by Peter Minuit, who is known as the first Dutch Governor, and was director general of the province. Manhattan Island was bought of the Indians for 60 guilders, \$24.00.

Fort Amsterdam was built near what is now the "Battery" and New Amsterdam became a thrifty Dutch village.

These Dutchmen were essentially traders. Amsterdam at that time was the greatest commercial city of the world, and these visitors to Manhattan saw large profits in securing the furs which the Indians possessed. Trading posts were established up the river, and Fort Orange was built. In 1626 New

Amsterdam took upon itself the character of a permanent colony, and it was evident that the Dutch had come to stay.

These traders were not more honest than others who dealt with the natives; they paid the Indians for their peltries in trinkets and goods of little value and sold the skins in Europe for a good price.

The veracious author of Knickerbockers' History of New York gravely says: "A brisk trade for furs was soon opened. The Dutch traders were scrupulously honest in their dealings and purchased by weight, establishing it as an invariable table of *avoirdupois* that the hand of a Dutchman weighed one pound and his foot two pounds. It is true the simple Indians were often puzzled by the great disproportion between bulk and weight; for let them place a bundle of furs ever so large in one scale, and a Dutchman put his hand or foot in the other, the bundle was sure to kick the beam. Never was a package of furs known to weigh more than two pounds in the market of *Communipaw*. This is a singular fact, but I have it direct from my great-great-grand-father, who had risen to considerable importance in the colony, being promoted to the office of weighmaster on account of the uncommon heaviness of his foot."

Minuit opened negotiations with Gov. Bradford of Plymouth, and tried very early to establish friendly relations with that colony, but the New Englanders regarded the Dutch as interlopers and England claimed the entire Atlantic coast as having been originally discovered by Cabot. Bradford was in no position to attempt the conquest of the country, and the Dutch were not disturbed by their English neighbors.

In 1629 the Dutch West India Company adopted a scheme by which any member of the company who should found a colony in the New Netherlands with fifty persons, actual settlers, should have the title of *Patroon*, with feudal rights over a tract of land 16 miles on one side or 8 miles on both sides of a navigable river, and extending as far inland as they choose, anywhere within

the limits of the province except on the island of Manhattan. This the company reserved to themselves, together with the exclusive right to the fur trade and five per cent. duty on all trade carried on by the *Patroons*.

The *Patroons* were required to satisfy the Indians for their lands by actual purchase and might import negro slaves,

This policy was far reaching in its effects. It gave the colony the institution of negro slavery, with all its attendant woes, and it built up petty states within the province, whose rulers made a world of trouble for the company and the government.

The *Patroons* were feudal lords over, and owned both the soil and its tenants. Several such colonies were established. Killian Van Rensselaer founded the Manor of Rensselaerwick near Fort Orange, and David Pierson de Vries the Manor of Swanandaël, on the Delaware, or South River, as it was then called.

Killian Van Rensselaer had seven successors, the last of whom Stephen, died in 1868, but long before the death of Stephen Van Rensselaer, the *Patroon* had been shorn of his power and his dignity.

The office of a feudal lord maintaining his own little army, and floating his own flag, was not compatible with Yankee civilization. Under the English rule, the dominion of the *Patroon* became an English Manor in 1685, and the oldest son inherited the estate, but after the American revolution this way of perpetuating power could not endure, and in 1839, at the death of the then *Patroon*, the estate was divided among the nine heirs, and the distinction of being *Patroon* fell to Stephen and died with him in 1868. Today it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to tell just where the palatial Mansion of the *Patroon* stood. The house has been taken down and set up again at Williamstown, Mass., and is now used for a club house by a college secret society. The beautiful grounds which surrounded the mansion are covered by business blocks and factories, the estate has been broken up and

the Van Rensselaers are scattered like other American families.

In 1630, the imports from Amsterdam amounted to \$45,000 and the exports from Manhattan to \$52,000, but the people had no voice in the government and were forbidden to make any woolen, linen or other cloth, or to weave any other stuffs under penalty of punishment and exile, but now they began to build their own ships and "The New Netherland," a ship of 800 tons, was launched and sent to Holland. It was, at that time, one of the largest merchant vessels in the world.

While the company governed the colony with the sole purpose of getting all they could out of it, the fullest religious toleration was granted, and refugees from the persecutions of the Puritans, and from Europe were welcomed at Manhattan. There, also, came adventurers and scamps of all kinds, so, that the little city, even then, began to take on that cosmopolitan air and tone which has ever since distinguished it. Money was scarce, and wampum became the common currency of the settlement. The settlers gradually adopted many of the Indian customs, they ate hominy and succotash, and smoked large quantities of tobacco.

In 1632, Peter Minuit was recalled and in 1633, Wouter VanTwiller succeeded him.

Minuit, a few years later, entered the Swedish service, and appeared as governor of a colony of Swedes and settled on the Delaware river.

The first clergyman at New Amsterdam was Jonas Michaelius in 1627, but he stayed only a short time and Dominie Bogardus came with VanTwiller to be the permanent clergyman in 1633.

David Pieterse de Vries, the Patroon of Swanandael, was a man of good sense, prudence and ability, but having gone to Holland in the New Netherland, the Indians burned his settlement and murdered the inhabitants. When he returned to the Delaware he found the place in ruins and abandoned it, taking up his residence on Staten Island.

Soon after Van Twiller's arrival, one Jacob Eelkins, who had been the agent at Fort Orange, and had been dismissed by the company, and had gone into the English service, appeared in the harbor in an English ship. He announced that it was all English territory, and that he was going up the Mauritius to trade with the Indians. Van Twiller forbade him to do so, and attempted to prevent his passing up the river, but Eelkins sailed by, in defiance of the guns of Fort Amsterdam and Van Twiller dare not fire on the English flag. DeVries advised war, and VanTwiller finally got his courage up, and sent the "Southberg" after Eelkins with orders to drive him out of the river. The Dutch found Eelkins near Fort Orange, captured his company and his ship, destroyed his tent that he had set up on shore, brought his vessel back to New Amsterdam, took away his peltries and sent him to sea with a warning never again to trespass upon, or trade in Dutch territory.

Trouble soon broke out with the English settlers on the Connecticut river, but it was a bloodless war, and both Dutch and English occupied, and continued to claim the valley of the Connecticut.

The English also attempted a settlement at Fort Nassau, DeVries' abandoned settlement on the Delaware, but they were removed by the Dutch and taken as prisoners to Point Comfort. Flourishing settlements were established up the Mauritius and on Long Island and the province was prosperous.

Van Twiller was a thrifty man, a better merchant than governor, but his rapacity became so great that DeVries and others complained of him, and in 1637 he was succeeded by William Kieft who was cruel, unscrupulous and utterly wanting in either principle or capacity to govern.

At first he was very active in correcting what he considered abuses, and very soon had made a large number of enemies among the colonists.

Minuit came about this time, and established his colony of Swedes on the Delaware, against this Kieft protested,

but the Swedes did not go, and Sweden was then too powerful in Europe for the States General to go to war with, about a little colony in America.

Kieft also tried to prevent the encroachment of the English on Long Island, but their settlements increased on the eastern end of the Island, and many New Englanders came to live at New Amsterdam, among them Capt. John Underhill who had distinguished himself in the Pequod war.

In 1641, Kieft recklessly provoked a war with the neighboring Indians. These Indians were tributaries of the Iroquois, and being threatened with an attack from the Mohawks, they took refuge with the Dutch at Pavonia, where a large number were treacherously murdered by Kieft's orders. DeVries saved several who had fled for protection to his residence on Staten Island, but he could not stay the bloody hand of Kieft, and the province became involved in a war which at one time threatened the ruin of the colony.

Indian villages were attacked in the night, and men, women and children were murdered in cold blood. Kieft killed friend and foe alike, until all the tribes in the vicinity of Manhattan were his enemies, but in March, 1643, Kieft became alarmed at the situation. Dutch settlements in every direction had been destroyed, houses, barns and crops burned, and the settlers driven into New Amsterdam. He implored DeVries to help him make peace. This DeVries consented to do, and secured a short peace, but in August the war broke out afresh. Underhill then attacked and destroyed the Indian villages on the Connecticut, and on Long Island, and the tide of battle turned so strongly against the natives that they sued for peace and finally a treaty of peace was made.

Kieft quarreled with DeVries who returned to Holland a ruined man; he quarreled with Bogardus who denounced him from his pulpit and finally his unfitness became apparent to the company, and in 1647 he was recalled, and was wrecked and lost with his ship on the return voyage.

Peter Stuyvesant now became governor. He was a brave soldier and an honest man. He had lost a leg in the attack on the Portuguese settlement at St. Martin and had been governor of Curacao.

He came prepared to cultivate peace with the Indians, and energetically to defend the rights of the Dutch in "The New Netherlands" against all European claimants. He told the colonists on his arrival "that he would govern them as a father did his children" but they were in no mood for such a government.

They saw the people of other colonies governing themselves, they came from the freest country in Europe, they were restless under the tyranny of the West India company, and already the contest against "taxation without representation" had begun.

Stuyvesant at once tried to settle the boundaries between the province and the English colony on the east, and finally succeeded in making a treaty and a boundary line by which he gave up all claims to the Connecticut valley and the eastern end of Long Island, but the English were in no case to approach within ten miles of the river Maritius.

In 1646 a charter was conferred upon the village of Breuklaen, and in 1652 a burgher government was established in New Amsterdam.

About this time a war broke out between England and Holland and the New Englanders took advantage of the situation to break the treaty with "The New Netherlands." They falsely charged Stuyvesant with having plotted with the Narragansetts for the destruction of the English settlements and they planned for the conquest of New Amsterdam. Underhill turned against his late allies, and tried to stir up the settlers on Long Island against the Dutch, but before war actually broke out peace was proclaimed in Europe and trouble at Manhattan was postponed.

Internal troubles now occupied the attention of Stuyvesant; he tried to serve faithfully his employers, the company, while he no doubt sympathized to some extent with the people.

They wanted to manage their own affairs, choose their own officers, say how their own revenues should be expended and they demanded that New Amsterdam should enjoy the same municipal privileges as Old Amsterdam and be a free city.

In 1654 a portion of these demands were reluctantly granted, a seal for the city was adopted and a *stadt huys* erected.

In 1650 Stuyvesant had built Fort Casimer near the mouth of Brandywine river and some five miles from Minuit's Swedish colony at Fort Christina. In 1654 Minuit was dead and buried at Fort Christina, and one Rising was governor. He attacked and captured the Dutch fort on Trinity Sunday, and changed its name to Fort Trinity.

Stuyvesant retaliated by seizing a Swedish ship that entered Sandy Hook bay by mistake, and in September 1655, having received instructions from Holland, he sailed with seven ships to the Delaware, captured the fort, made the colonists swear allegiance to the Dutch government, took Rising prisoner and sent him to Europe and placed a Dutch officer in command of the conquered territory, but while he was absent on his campaign the Indians, who had been quiet for the past ten years determined to avenge the death of a squaw whom Hendrick Van Dyck had shot, while she was stealing peaches from his orchard, just below where Rector street now is, and on the 15th of September sixty-four canoes with nearly 2,000 armed warriors landed before daybreak at Fort Amsterdam and spread themselves over the town.

The alarmed burghers by friendly words and promises induced them to go over to Governors Island, but they returned in the evening, shot Van Dyck with an arrow and killed another man with an ax.

The people were now aroused to a desperate defense and rallying in force they drove the Indians into their canoes and across the river. The savages then attacked Hoboken and Pavonia, murdered the inhabitants and burned houses,

barns and crops. The whole country was terrified and the people flocked to the fort for safety. In three days 100 settlers were killed and 28 *bouwerries* with their cattle and crops destroyed. A messenger was sent for Stuyvesant and, the governor returning, found all in confusion at Fort Amsterdam; but his policy was not like that of the headstrong and cruel Kieft, for while he prepared for war he sought for peace, and by kind words and presents he conciliated the Indians. Satisfied by his promises, and terrified by his preparations to punish them, they were induced to release their prisoners and stop their depredations. Several years of peace and prosperity followed.

In 1656, the first map of the city was made which showed 17 streets, and a market was established for country wagons at the foot of Whitehall street.

In 1658, two hundred and fifty-fire buckets were imported from Holland for the use of the city, and a fire company of eight men was organized, and in the same year a Latin school or academy was established with Dr. Alexander Carolus Curtius in charge, on a salary of \$200 and perquisites.

A small part of the Island only was under cultivation. The lots below Wall street worth \$50.00 apiece were large enough for orchards and gardens.

Every settler kept his cows, and a herdsman was appointed by the city to drive them to the public pasture—the present park and land in its vicinity.

The Reformed Dutch religion was the established church of the province and Stuyvesant, an earnest Calvinist, was less tolerant than his predecessors, but the people were of all, and of no religious views, and there was no hanging of Quakers or burning of witches in New Amsterdam.

In 1664, Charles II of England granted to his brother James, Duke of York, a patent of the territory lying between the Connecticut River and Delaware Bay, and without giving any notice to the government of Holland, the Duke dispatched four ships and 450 English sol-

diers to take possession of New Netherlands.

They arrived at Coney Island in August, 1664, occupied Staten Island, and immediately laid seige to New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant was not prepared for war; he had not more than 400 men able to bear arms, his fort and wooden walls which were good enough against Indian arrows were no defense against English war ships, but he was not willing to surrender, he wanted to fight. He called his council together and proposed resistance, he tried to rally the citizens, but the people were weary with the arbitrary exactions and despotic government of the West India Company, they sympathized with the English invaders, they would not fight and the council advised a surrender. Then came Winthrop the governor of Connecticut with his assurances that the privileges of the Hollanders should not be abridged, and their property rights be fully protected, and on the 8th of September, 1664, the city was surrendered to the English and Stuyvesant marched his soldiers out of Fort Amsterdam with all the honors of war. Nichols became deputy governor of the province. The English flag was run up over the fort, its name was changed to Fort James and New Amsterdam became New York. The River Mauritius was henceforth called the Hudson and the province of New Netherlands for the next hundred years the colony of New York.

The city fell into the hands of the Dutch again in 1673, and was held by them for about a year. Anthony Colve was governor and he tried to call the place New Orange, but it was restored to the English by the treaty of 1674 and became again New York.

The city in 1664 contained about 1,500 inhabitants and the entire colony some three or four thousand.

At the time of the cession to the English, eighteen different languages were spoken in the city, it was a cosmopolitan, commercial city and the foundation was already laid for what has become the chief city and the Empire State of the Union.

The city on Manhattan Island dominated the province more completely, perhaps, during those years than it ever has since, but may be, no more than "Greater New York" will dominate this state in the future.

These Dutchmen who discovered, settled and named New Netherlands were a different people and came from a different country than those Dutch, the Palatines, who came later into the Mohawk valley.

The Palatines were farmers. The Hollanders were traders. The Hollanders made New York a commercial city and gave it the impetus to become the metropolis of the new world. The Hollanders gave us negro slavery which cursed the state until 1820. The Hollanders gave us the patroon system, and that system was the cause of the anti-rent troubles of 1840. That disturbance is within the memory of men now living.

At the close of the Revolutionary war a large part of the land in the counties of Albany, Rensselaer, Columbia, Green, Ulster, Delaware, Schoherie, Montgomery, Herkimer, Otsego and Oneida was in large estates, and the tenants paid an annual rent to the lords of the manors. The Legislatures of 1788-9 passed laws to relieve the situation, but the landlords devised a perpetual lease which avoided the law and was very oppressive to the tenants.

About 1839 the tenants rebelled. A riot occurred at Grafton in Rensselaer county and one man was killed. There was great excitement. At the investigation which followed more than 200 witnesses were sworn but the murderers were not discovered. Gov. Seward discussed the subject in his messages in 1841 and 42 and recommended legislation. Disguised bands of rebellious tenants marched through the country and committed depredations. Gov. Wright in 1845 declared martial law in Delaware county and in 1846 the matter became a political issue and Governor Young was elected by 10,000 majority. He held that the disorderly acts of the Anti-Renters were political offenses rather than criminal, and pardoned those who

were in jail. A provision was ingrafted in the state constitution abolishing feudal tenures, and prohibiting the leasing of agricultural lands for a period longer than twelve years, and the large estates becoming unprofitable were gradually broken up and the system abolished.

But while the Hollanders gave us these legacies of trouble, they also

brought with them positive ideas of personal, political, and religious liberty, and fixed habits of thrift and enterprise, and they gave to their one colony on the mainland of North America tendencies and characteristics, which placed and have kept it, the first, in the front rank of American States.

THE TOWN OF RUSSIA.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES N. WALTERS, OF PROSPECT,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, March 12, 1898.

My native town is Russia where I resided from my birth in 1824, until I came to Prospect in April 1891.

As I look back over the town as it was in my younger days, I see a hardy, industrious honest people; a people whose strong characteristics of families and persons stand out in bold relief. The leading, active men from all parts of the town appear to be of nearly uniform age with families of children growing up together. But now I see a change. The old families are broken up by intermarriages with later settlers so that the distinctiveness of family traits is largely lost and their predominance has given way under influences of more dense population.

The history of Russia by its inhabitants, has never been written; there were no striking events occurring, no Baron or titled personages to stir our people to write their own history for future reference. They were a home loving people, quietly attending to the affairs of the town and making no demands upon the attention of the outside world.

About 1871 there was published a work purporting to be a history of Herkimer county, but it was compiled in such a way (chiefly from information supplied by subscribers and others who paid for mention,) that many who could have furnished valuable information were

given no opportunity to do so, and many persons of large influence in the county's history were ignored; and the book was incomplete, inaccurate and unsatisfactory.

Very little can be known of the privation and hardships the early settlers had to endure, clearing up the virgin forest, cutting down the trees, burning the wood, planting their crops by digging holes among roots of trees. Many had no chairs or plates, but used blocks of trees for seats and cut out chips for plates. This history lingers now only in vague family traditions and cannot be written out with sufficient accuracy to be of value.

I am able through my ancestors on my mother's side to name some of the first settlers of this town, and on my father's side those of a few years later.

Previous to the year 1792, there were no white people in this town, which was then the town of Norway, Montgomery county. Herkimer county was set off from Montgomery the 15th of March 1798. The town of Russia was taken from Norway April 7, 1806 and named Union and on April 6, 1808 the name was changed to Russia.

The first settlers came from Connecticut and Massachusetts in the year 1792 and made a settlement on the Cold

brook, a little south of the present village.

With this company were my mother's father, Amos Carpenter, and Phineas Briggs, whose daughter, Charlotte, was the wife of Amos Carpenter.

Phineas Briggs was a soldier in the Revolutionary war and was afterwards pensioned by the government, and died at Cold Brook at the age of 93 years.

There were other residents of Russia in that war, Mr. Buck and Mr. Osborn, also pensioners; William Cory, who was in the battle of Bunker Hill and John Walters, who had a musket and bayonet taken from the British at Stoney Point, which are now in our family.

Amos Carpenter died at Cold Brook in 1857 at the age of 82 years and my mother Fanny Carpenter Walters died at the same place in 1877 in her 75th year.

Amos Carpenter assisted in the first burial service in this town. The first marriage was in 1794, Farley Smith and Miranda Smith being the contracting parties.

The Millington, Russell, Squire, Stoddard and Ruscom Slocum families settled in 1795 and the Walters and Robins in 1799.

Millington, Russell, Walters and Robin located one or two miles east of Russia village, their farms all joining. Reuben Robin's family afterward went to Cold Brook and from there to the state of Ohio where he died.

The record of our family reaches back to John Walters, who with his brothers James and Nathaniel came from England about the year 1750. We are the descendants of John Walters, who settled in Orange county, N. Y., where my grandfather Nathaniel Walters, one of six children, was born in 1772. John Walters moved across the river to Fishkill, Dutchess county in 1787 and later to Stillwater, Saratoga county where Nathaniel Walters married Esther Robins and where my father, William Walters was born in 1798. John Walters with all of his family, settled in Russia in 1799 where he died in 1816.

Three brothers of Esther Robins came with them, William, who was the father of the Adam Robins family; David, who settled on the Dorman farm but returned to Saratoga, where he died at 96 years and Reuben who has been previously mentioned.

Reuben Robins, had a son William, who married the daughter (Julia) of John Russell and a daughter Matilda, who was the wife of Richard Millington, who was the father of Hon. S. R. Millington now of Poland, N. Y. There was another brother Thomas in Saratoga who died there in the 100th year of his age. Their father died in Saratoga at 93 years and my grandmother in Russia at 65 years.

The longevity of both branches of my ancestors is quite remarkable.

Nathaniel Walters' family consisted of nine children, two of whom died in early age, leaving seven members, who were all married and lived with their first companions in marriage with only one exception.

The united ages of these seven members is 474 years and from the birth of Nathaniel Walters in 1772 down to 1877 is one hundred and five years, during which time only eight deaths occurred in these several families, one being his own, two of his children, four of his grand children and one his great grand child.

My grandfather's age was 77 years, my father's age 90 years, and I have now passed my 73rd year making the heads of these three families 240 years. Two of Nathaniel Walters' family are now living, M. C. Walters, of Cold Brook, aged 78 years, and Judith Walters Hunt, of the state of Ohio, aged 91 years.

The first tavern in this town was opened by Stephen Smith 2nd, and the first store by a Mr. Smithburn, both in the year 1797. The first doctor was William Frame in 1806. The state road was laid through this town in 1806.

The village of Russia was settled in 1800 by Samuel Wright.

The Baptist society (Free Will) was organized in 1799 by Elder Benjamin Corp, and in 1850 was merged into the close communion branch of the Baptist

church, by Elder Jonathan Carpenter and Deacons Nathan Millington and Daniel Corp.

The Baptist church, the largest building then in town, was erected about the year 1820, my father being one of the builders.

When I look at this structure, which to-day would cost \$6,000 or more I am led to ask how this was accomplished by a people so few in number and of so limited resources. There must have been among them unity of mind and action.

Gravesville was settled in the year 1796 by Major Geer, a tanner; Poland in 1807 by Moses Mather, and Grant, then called Potters Bush in 1816 by Isaac Wooding. It also was called Black Creek, but received the official name Postville in 1820 in honor of John Post the first postmaster. The name of the place and postoffice was again changed to Booth in honor of Elihu Booth, a leading business man. In 1864 the name was once more changed to Grant in honor of General Grant.

The small streams running through the villages of Cold Brook and Gravesville furnished power for many industries for the early settlers, and were the probable reason for the first settlements being made in these places.

The most important manufacturing plant of this town and Trenton was the gang sawing and lumber planing mills of Hinckley & Ballou, which I built in 1848-1849, where I passed forty years of my business life. These were the first gang saws set up in northern New York except on the Hudson river at Fort Edward.

There was a mill and dam at this place, said to have been erected by a Mr. Jones, about fifty years previous to 1848, which would reach back to about the year 1790. Settlers may have come in by way of Trenton, before Russia was settled in 1793. This was probably the first dam across the West Creek, unless there was one at the foot of Trenton Falls.

There was quite a section covered with large pine trees at this place, and the

old mill cut the lumber for the settlers. Many wide boards for doors and ceilings can be found in the old buildings today, made of this pine.

The Walters family combined the occupations of mechanics, builders and farmers. My father was the principal millwright in this part of the country and he and his family erected nearly all the buildings and mills in this town until more recent date.

Some of the prominent men in my early days were Judge Varney, Col. Thayer, Capt. Walker, Capt. Forest, Doctors Sears, Coon, Varney and Booth, Deacons Johnson, Betticher, Corp, Millington and White.

Fink & Fausdick, Stanton & Betticher were the merchants. Mothers and daughters spun the flax and wool and wove the cloth, Lockwood & Hubbard carded the rolls, colored and dressed the cloth, for our clothing, Deacon Betticher was the tailor, Amos Carpenter made the boots and shoes, Polley tanned the leather, Overton made the hats, Lanckton the tinware, McMaster plastered the houses and Benjamin Hull, called "the governor," put shoes on the horses.

In the war of the rebellion, Russia ranks with her sister towns in loyalty and patriotism. The 34th, 81st, 97th and 121st regiments took many of her sons, and one brave soldier from Prospect. I refer to Julius A. Jones, a brother of our memorable hostess, Mrs. Farley. Julius, with about forty of our best mill boys, enlisted; Julius going out as corporal in company C., in the 121st.

These regiments were in many battles, one of the first being at Fredericksburg, in May, 1863. Several were killed, Julius and others wounded, a ball passing through his leg just above the knee. I visited these wounded boys from Russia, rendered them all the assistance I could and have always held them in grateful remembrance, for they were faithful in their work and home and brave in battle and for this reason few of them returned to their native homes.

The war debt of our town was paid in full; I was supervisor after the war in

1866, 1867, 1868 and 1869, and settled this war account. Those who were drafted in 1863 and commuted by paying three hundred dollars, were repaid, and those that reported under the draft received the same amount.

The draft that was ordered in 1864, was filled by procuring substitutes at prices ranging from \$1,200 to \$1,700 each was refunded and paid by the town.

We used our best efforts to have this debt paid at an early day. One hundred dollars was paid with less hardship at that time, than fifty dollars in later years.

HINCKLEY.

Hinckley & Ballou located the Gang Mills, now called Hinckley, in the year 1848, as before stated. Mr. Gardner Hinckley was the first to build a saw mill in the town of Wilmurt on the West Canada Creek in 1840. T. P. Ballou of Utica, built another mill on the west branch of this stream at Noblesborough, in 1842. The lumber from these mills was hauled to Utica market by teams, two days being necessary to make a trip. These gentlemen united their lumber business under the firm name of Hinckley & Ballou in 1846, with the expectation of floating logs to or near Herkimer, and building mills there to lessen the expense of marketing lumber. In 1847 they erected piers and booms on West Creek, about two miles north of Herkimer, but in February, 1848, the boom of logs at Wilmurt broke and these logs went down over Trenton Falls, many being broken and damaged; but they did not stop at the booms at Herkimer, as was expected, the water being too rapid and not sufficiently deep. This plan was then abandoned and a more suitable place was found, above Trenton Falls, the present location, where the mills and booms were built in 1848-49. In 1850, the planing mill was added to the plant. In 1851 the Trenton and Prospect plank road was laid, intersecting at Trenton the northern plank road from Utica. Lumber was taken over this road until the R. W. & O. RR. was opened for traffic, when it was taken to Trenton station, later yet to

Prospect station, until the building of the A & St. L. RR. to Hinckley in 1891.

Mr. Hinckley with his family came to live at this place in 1854, after being burned out in Wilmurt in 1853. I was married in 1853 and began house-keeping in 1854, there being only four other families here then.

Mr. Hinckley was in the legislature in 1855, when an act was passed making the West Canada Creek, from the booms at these mills, a public highway and an appropriation was made of five thousand dollars for removing rocks and obstructions from the stream.

In 1857, the panic in the state banks occurred, and to feed 50 teams and 150 men was no small matter in those days, but by exchanging lumber with the farmers for their farm products (which they dared not sell for bank bills) and by means of the credit given by our neighbors, the firm was prevented from failing.

There was no public road across the creek at this place, the road from Grant passing over the hill south to Prospect. The company maintained a private bridge for their business, which the public also used until the towns of Trenton and Russia built a covered wood bridge in 1856, which having proved of faulty construction, was replaced by the present iron bridge in 1871, built by Mr. Whipple of Boonville, N. Y.

The store building was built and opened for business in 1860. The M. E. church was erected in 1872, Rev. Pomeroy Wright, pastor. Mail was received from Prospect by private carrier until 1872, when a postoffice by the name of Gang Mills was established, William H. Stanton being postmaster until 1883, when J. N. Walter was appointed and held the office to 1891, at which date the name of the office was changed to Hinckley and Fred M. Smith was appointed postmaster.

The mills had many changes and repairs up to 1874 in which year they were built new from the foundation, and made the most complete mills in the state, the product of this plant being lumber of all kinds, planed and matched,

mouldings, casings, clapboards, shingles, laths, broomhandles, etc., with a large home trade. Also in connection with the mills a large farming business was conducted in Wilmurt and Russia.

The highest water ever known in the West Canada Creek was on the 21st day of April, 1869, part of the boom being lost and five to ten thousand logs carried away. High water of nearly the same volume occurred again in August, 1874.

The business of this firm has been exceptionally free from casualties, no buildings having been burned and only

four deaths resulting from accident in over forty years of logging and lumbering.

Mr. Hinckley died in March, 1875, and the firms business having been settled, Mr. Ballou continued alone from 1880 until his death in February, 1887. The mill property was sold by H. C. Ballou, executor, to the Trenton Falls Lumber Company in 1889. This company and others expended several hundred thousand dollars enlarging the plant and erecting one of the largest sulphite pulp mills in the country.

THE TOWN OF SCHUYLER AS A FACTOR IN THE HISTORY OF HERKIMER COUNTY.

AN ADDRESS BY J. H. J. WATKINS, OF SCHUYLER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, April 12, 1898.

History, generally speaking, is a great panorama of the centuries representing scenes, too extended to be seen at once and so pictured a little at a time that we may be enabled the better to appreciate the separate parts of the great whole. I will endeavor to throw upon the canvass for your consideration a few small views of the past and present of the town of Schuyler in our county and, perhaps, may see fit to prognosticate, from known signs and systems, something of its future. Some people think that patriotism is love for the land of one's birth. If that were absolutely true I should feel very sad, for having been born over three thousand miles away and under the British flag and always having been proud of an inherent aversion to the brag and swagger of the average Johnnie Bull, I should feel doomed to spend my days without the pale of that delightful spirit realm in which souls are set on fire with the spirit of '76, '61, and '98. But if patriotism, as I believe, is love of home or country whether of one's birth or adoption I can claim kindred with the brave hearts who are willing to endure suffering or even lose life itself to maintain the honor of their homes. I hate the man who belittles by word or deed the town in which he lives. He is a traitor, not pure but very simple.

The man who lives in Herkimer and does his trading in Little Falls or Utica deserves six months at least once if not twice a year. Infidelity to home interests is the prolific cause of so many failures in small towns. If these last thoughts seem an apparent digression I crave your pardon on the theory that indomitable allegiance to one's home town I believe to be one of the cardinal principles in the doctrine of true patriotism.

In compiling a record of events in the early history of one's town, difficulties almost insurmountable are always met. In the ever-increasing distance from primitive times there is great danger that false traditions may creep into authenticated narrative and that such clouded stories as "William Tell shooting the apple from the head of his son," be incorporated into the historic annals of a country. It is therefore difficult to establish a correct *principium cognoscendi*. Tradition is not authentic in any essential particular. The *paradosis* of the Greek and the cabala of the Jew may have been important before the advent of the New Testament, but as Augustine fitly remarked, that they could not be relied upon in the great distance from the age of the Apostles, so we say that tradition is not history, and is valuable

only as it corroborates the established annals of a period. Stories handed down orally from father to son are liable to material changes with each generation. True history is a record of undisputed facts crystalized upon tables of stone or indelibly stamped upon the printed page. But so much of tradition has insinuated itself even into the established account that there is ample room to doubt whether there is any absolutely correct history antedating the memory of the oldest inhabitant. In writing this paper I have been signally favored with the companionship of reliable octogenarians and nearly all the facts which I shall present for your consideration have been taken from the lips of those aged people.

The present town of Schuyler is a tract of land consisting of something less than 25,000 acres, situated on the north side of the Mohawk river and just west of the town of Herkimer. It was originally nearly half as large as the whole county, the towns of Trenton and Deerfield in Oneida county and a part of Newport in this county having been taken from it within fourteen years of its organization in 1792.

John Jurgh Kass had followed the Indian trails up the Mohawk valley as early as 1720, over 70 years before Schuyler was known as a town. The earliest purchase of land by white people in what is now central New York was recorded in the Burnetsfield patent which began on its west boundary at the Mohawk river, on the line or nearly so between the Sandford Getman and Andrew Davison farms just east of the old Frankfort depot, running east almost to the village of Little Falls. The next purchase was by John Jurgh Kass in the present town of Schuyler, a tract of 1100 acres. This was in 1724, after Kast, had satisfied himself for four years that he had struck an earthly paradise. Kast, as he afterwards wrote his name, made lots of money trading with the Indians and did not need to occupy the land for a great length of time. Joseph Kast of Mohawk is a descendant. The thrift of the original John Jurgh seems to have been transmitted to his entire progeny,

for to be named Kast is an evidence of wealth and prosperity.

It was a long time before any further settlements were effected in the present town of Schuyler. About forty years had elapsed after Kast bought his 1100 acres before Peter Hasenclever, a shrewd and adventurous old German of Wirtemberg, pushed his way westward from his iron works on the Hudson and obtained a site for a settlement on the Luther P. Sterling and D. I. Bridenbecker farms, about a mile west of the Frankfort depot. This was the first settlement of any account in the town and marked the western boundary of the white settlement before the revolutionary war. Hasenclever seems to have been authority on mineral as well as vegetable substances and knew well how to utilize both, as his iron works at Poughkeepsie and potash factory at New Petersburg (now East Schuyler) abundantly testified.

All supplies were then transmitted up the Mohawk in flat-boats and I have often seen hand made nails taken from some of the old houses built at New Petersburg. During the revolutionary war, a few years later, the inhabitants of New Petersburg suffered intensely, mostly from the ravages of the treacherous and marauding Iroquois, although the tories were not much less severe. And here it may be proper to remark that circumstances have a great deal to do with our opinions of who are the rebels. In '76 the rebels succeeded and became patriots because their cause was right; in '61 the rebels were defeated and never became anything but rebels because their cause was wrong. The right or wrong of it makes a great difference. In the vicinity of the house now owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Gilbert was the much talked of New Petersburg fort. This was a crude affair looking very much like children's work. It consisted of two or three log houses around which was constructed a picket fence made of narrow boards or plank sawed at the Hasenclever saw mill and about twelve feet high, but the north side was made of young tree about six inches through, sharpened and driven into the

ground. In this enclosure the inhabitants huddled at night and worked day times in the field with fire arms at easy command. This was farming under difficulties but perhaps as profitable as it has been for a few years back. Luther P. Sterling showed me the stump of the tree the other day just outside of the old fort into which an Indian climbed and picked off the whites as they went down to the spring after water; after awhile Baltis Bridenbecker picked off the Indian and his comrades came in the night and carried him off. On the farm which I now occupy the men were at work one time in the field when the Indians swept down upon them. One young fellow by the name of Peter Rima hid in and adjacent thicket. When the Indians had bound the Germans as prisoners, they ordered the captive to call the youngster. In the German language they shouted "Peter Bleib wo du bist!" which being translated means, "stay where you are" and the young fellow lived to tell the tale. When by legislative enactment the town was founded in 1792 temporary officers were appointed who served until April 2nd, 1793 when a full set of officers were elected with Isaac Brayton as supervisor. Isaac Brayton was also member of assembly in 1797 but the present town lays no claim to Isaac Brayton because he never lived within its limits. The first assemblyman the town claims as her own was Robert Burch in 1811 and again in 1812. He was a man of great mental power and superior business abilities. Then came Olmstead Hough in 1813. The town was in the incipient stages of its political career but seemed to have quite a voice in the agency of making the laws. In 1840 George Burch was assemblyman from Herkimer county and the town of Schuyler. Like his father he attended to public business as he did his own, earnestly, methodically, successfully. In 1857 and again in 1858 the veteran agriculturist, Harris Lewis, was our assemblyman. He was a model assemblyman because he looked after the interests of the farmer whose business is the basis of all the business inter-

ests of the world. Erasmus W. Day, the old political war horse of the town represented us in 1869. Mr. Day was exceptionally candid and outspoken but he never went back on a friend. If he was for you you knew it and if he was against you you surely did. Last but not least among our assemblymen was John M. Budlong in 1885 and '86. He is a man eminently fitted to grapple with great questions and justly enjoys the enviable reputation of always standing for the right as his conscience dictates. The proportion of public men sent out by the town of Schuyler has been remarkable considering the circumstances. It is emphatically an agricultural district. The men are farmers, not office-seekers, and when chosen, the office has sought the man and not the man the office. Lawyers locate in villages. To be sure they are a necessary evil and therefore must be endured, but one thing is certain, they are more than willing to appropriate the honor and the salaries of all the public offices. Schuyler neither has nor has had any lawyers, so we have not had to be charged with the office of district attorney, county judge and surrogate, or any of the positions for which only lawyers are supposed to be fitted. The first man ever elected to a county office from our town is the present county clerk. (A member of assembly is in a measure a state officer because he is elected to legislate for the whole state.) His record is an open book, known and read by all men. D. M. Richardson is not only an honor to the town of Schuyler, in which he was born, but to the whole county, as an exceptionally capable public officer.

The town of Schuyler is remarkable for the cleanliness of its political character. It is neither bought nor sold at primaries or in conventions. It may take sides with existing political factions, but whichever faction receives its support, receives it purely on principle. One thing remarkable about the town is its political stability. It is overwhelmingly republican. It can be depended upon. Other towns are like a weather-

vane on an April day; Schuyler is as steadfast and uniform as the needle to the pole. But the most remarkable thing about Schuyler is its attitude on the temperance question. This question of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages is the burning question of the hour. The town of Schuyler has solved it. The sentiment against the traffic is so pronounced that a man who favored it in that town, should he be running for office, would be buried so deep that even Gabriel's trumpet would have to sound an extra blast to reach him. It may be said that it is exclusively a farming district, that there are no villages and therefore there are no facilities for the traffic. Well, if farming is a safeguard against intemperance, let us all become farmers. I would rather be a nomad than a drunkard. But the insinuation is groundless as applied to Schuyler. I have been a member of the town board for nearly thirty years. In 1869 a man applied to the board for license to sell liquor in the village of West Schuyler. The town board then had the power to grant licenses. I was late that day. The board stood two and two. I felt that the proudest moment of my life had come to me. I felt that I had the sole power to prevent a covenant with death and a league with hell. The man did not get a license. It is not that the town lacks the facilities, but its leading men lack the disposition. There are men in town who would like to see liquor sold. It has been intimated that some would like to sell it. It is the only temperance town in the county, and yet one of its marked features is the absence of what are politically called prohibitionists. One man talks prohibition and is credited with voting the democratic ticket, and on especial occasions I have known as many as half a dozen votes to be cast for the nominees of that party. And yet I thank God for the prohibitionists. I believe they have a mission to perform, and they perform it. Great reforms follow in the paths previously blazed by agitators. The agitators themselves sel-

dom accomplish much other than the blazing.

William Lloyd Garrison was as anti-slavery as John G. Woolley is anti-liquor, but William Lloyd Garrison or any of his eccentric and almost if not quite erratic followers ever freed a slave, and yet they blazed the pathway for the republican party, and there are grave doubts that the republican party would have ever been wrought up to the noble work without the previous labors of the anti-slavery agitators.

The following is the position Schuyler takes on the liquor traffic. When the Raines liquor law was enacted it provided for local option; that is, about five separate propositions were submitted to the people at the election. A town need not have liquor sold by the drink but it could have it sold by measure or it could sell it to be swallowed off of the premises, or it could license druggists to sell it for medicinal purposes; but every separate proposition was defeated by the voters of Schuyler. Name me the other town that did as well. But the mere fact of defeat is not just the thing of which Schuyler is so intensely proud. If a hundred votes were cast, fifty one might have defeated forty nine and still the public sentiment would have been almost evenly divided. In our town the proposition most favored, that of selling by druggists for medicinal purposes was defeated by over six to one, and that of selling by the drink as a beverage by over ten to one.

Schuyler has three churches, all Methodist. The town was divided into school districts in 1813 and but few changes have since been made. The best school house and grounds is that at East Schuyler but great improvement ought to be made in the school buildings of the town. Like too many other towns the disposition to hurry off the pupil to larger towns and schools of higher grade is far too prevalent. I am proud of the general trend of improvement of the age but I believe that many of the fads of modern schools are a positive detriment to the pupils. The best

spellers and the best grammarians I have ever met grew up to be almost men and women before they said good bye to the old red school houses in the country districts. The town was named after the oft maligned but always exonerated Gen. Philip Schuyler. He was born in Albany and for the valuable services rendered during the revolutionary war was rewarded with a large tract of land in this region. A number of his relatives for awhile occupied the territory, among them the Bleekers, and others who have helped to make Albany famous for its high toned society.

The East Schuyler Literary society I think deserves mention as an important factor in the progress of the town.

Among the pioneers who settled the town were Henri Staring, first judge of Herkimer county, appointed by Governor Clinton, Robert Burch assemblyman from the county in 1811-12, Elisha Ladd, Stephen Rose, Nehemiah Richardson, Nathan Budlong, Thomas Wood, John Goo, Daniel Smith and others. These hardy pioneers were the ancestors of the East Schuyler Literary society and its members delight to trace back the honored relationship that exist between them and the brave and hardy tillers of the virgin soil. The society was formed for general literary culture

but makes a speciality of studying the works of modern authors. One of the remarkable things about it is that while it has celebrated its sixth anniversary and has bi-weekly meetings it has never missed a session. Most societies of this character have their ebb and flow tides, this one is as stable and uniform as the politics of the town. The ablest historian in town is Alexis Johnson, who makes a specialty of the early history of the town. Edgar Jackson Klock is our antiquarian and a visit to his residence and a look at his collection of relics is always a treat. In the Board of Supervisors the town has always been an important factor. It has had the honor of more chairmen than any other town, all of which it has received with thanks. The rising generation of the town of Schuyler bid fair to out do their ancestors in political sagacity and a desire for a large comprehension of political economy. In case of a war with Spain which is now more than probable Schuyler can be relied upon to furnish its full quota. We believe in the future of Schuyler. With due deference to the rights and accomplishments of other towns she is anxious to march in the van-guard and prove herself worthy of the position she occupies.

FRAGMENTS OF NORWAY'S EARLY HISTORY.

AN ADDRESS BY FRED SMITH, OF NORWAY,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, May 14, 1898.

The town of Norway was organized April 10, 1792, by act of the legislature. Its original boundaries included the towns of Fairfield, Russia, Ohio, Wilmurt and Webb and that portion of Newport lying easterly of the West Canada Creek, in Herkimer county; portions of Oneida, Lewis and Clinton counties, all of Hamilton and the most of St Lawrence. About 36 towns are now located within its former limits. Fairfield was taken off in 1796, Remsen in 1798, Russia as Union, and part of Newport in 1806, and Ohio as West Brunswick in 1823. No boundary changes have since occurred.

The "greater" Norway of 1792, was about 125 miles in length, with an average width of 50 miles, the "lesser" Norway of the past 75 years is scarce 6 miles square; of the town as now constituted, its early settlement and pioneers we shall only write.

The surface is elevated and rolling. A broad plateau of high land extends from southeast to northwest through the centre, from which numerous trout brooks flow northward and eastward to Black and Spruce creeks and southward and westward to White creek. No town in the county is better watered. Before settlement, an unbroken forest of splendid timber, mostly hard wood, with a generous border of hemlock along the streams, and a border of spruce, balsam

and cedar on its eastern and northern bounds covered the whole territory.

The first attempt to settle was made in the year 1786, by a Mr. Whipple and Hawkins from Rhode Island, on the farm recently owned by Munson Bunnell. After erecting a log shanty and making a small clearing, they found they had located on the wrong lot and abandoned their enterprise. The next year, 1787, witnessed the first permanent settlement. It was made by Fisher, Jeremiah Jr. and Angel Potter of Rhode Island, all young unmarried men. Their sisters, Mary and Sarah, accompanied them. They leased lot No. 4 of the third allotment of the Royal Grant, containing 300 acres, for a period of 21 years, with the privilege of purchase at the expiration of that time for \$2.50 an acre. They built their log cabin near the southeast corner of said lot, about three-fourths of a mile directly north of Norway village. Their first year in the wilderness was a trying time. The nearest neighbors were seven miles distant. Their stock of provisions ran short. Forest game supplied in part their pressing wants. Their parents came from Rhode Island, in April, 1788.

Before 1790 Thomas Manley came from Vermont in company with David Underhill, a cousin. They located a mile south of Norway village. John, Amos and Andrew Coe Jr. and Captain David

Hinman came from Southbury, Conn., in 1789 and settled a short distance northerly of the village. The Manley and Coe families were important factors in the town's early history.

Marvelous accounts of the fertile soil, healthy climate and cheap lands of the Royal Grant spread through New England and eastern New York, and resulted in a large emigration of desirable settlers between the years 1790 and 1800. The dread of that bane, fever and ague, was unknown on our healthy hills. A few of the prominent settlers after 1790, were Henry Tillinghast, Sylvanus Ferris, Edward Henderson, Henry G. Gardiner and George W. and William H. Cook. Noah Smith, great grandfather of Judge George W. Smith of Herkimer, was a resident of the Hurricane district. Josiah and Dudley Smith were the pioneer settlers on the land on which Norway village is built. In 1794 they bought lot No. 31, of the second allotment of the Royal Grant, containing 200 acres, of Peter I. Vosburgh of Kinderhook, N. Y., agreeing to pay \$650 for the same. The deed states that the grantor received title June 1, 1785, of Jeremiah VanRensealaer and Henry Oothoudt, commissioners appointed by the state to sell the forfeited estates of the Johnsons. The north and south road through our village divided the lot in equal parts, Josiah taking the east and Dudley the west lot. They little thought that the flourishing (?) village of Norway would be built on their purchase. By common consent the location of Cook's store, half a mile north, was expected to be the future village of the town, but the partial failure of the Cooks, and the laying out of the State Road in 1806 changed the program.

The largest board of supervisors that ever convened in the county, the number being 24, met in 1797. In point of population and taxes, Norway was the eighth town of the number. Oneida county was formed in 1798 and Herkimer county reduced to eight towns. In 1799, this town was second in valuation and taxes, Herkimer being first. At the beginning of the present century over

three-fourths of the town was thickly dotted over with clearings and log houses. Cutting off the splendid forests was the main business of those days. By night the fires and by day the smoke could be seen from a hundred choppings. The air was full of the music of ringing axes, the crash of falling timber and the tinkle of sheep and cow bells. The log houses resounded with the melody of wheels and loom, and the merry prattle of children, for babies were in style in the days of yore. The census of 1800 found 1,003 inhabitants, of which more than 900 resided within the present town limits. Of this number, over 500 were less than 16 years of age and only 65 over the age of 45. Included in the list were three slaves, George W. Cook, Josiah Curtiss and Josiah Smith owning one each. Norway slavery was probably of a very mild type.

Thomas Manley was the first supervisor within present town limits; chosen in 1797, and the two following years. He held this office in all for nine years and many other positions of trust and honor. He became a recognized leader of the Federal party in town. Manley had a fair education for the times and sufficient quiet energy to insure success in the farming line. He was rather large in stature, sedate and dignified in appearance and intercourse: from these traits, some have likened him in demeanor to Washington. His townsmen had the utmost confidence in his integrity and wisdom.

Henry Tillinghast came from Dorset, Vt., to Norway in the fall of 1794. He was a native of Rhode Island. He was a man of good sense, correct habits, of sterling integrity, untiring industry, strict economy and positive energy. He was direct and impulsive in style, bordering on rudeness in business transactions. Politically, he was an ardent democrat and in addition to minor offices, held the position of supervisor for 15 years. In the board of supervisors he was so persistent in having extravagant bills cut down, that he was named by his brother supervisors the "Old Docking Machine." Would that there were

more of this kind of machine politicians at the present time. His business was divided between farming and quite an extensive tannery for early days, and in both he was quite successful. Two years after coming to town he married Miss Sarah Dyer of Vermont, and reared a family of ten children to mature years. Perhaps no family identified with our early history in social, political and religious matters occupied so prominent a position for 50 years after 1795, as that of Henry Tillinghast.

Sylvanus Ferris came from Westchester county in 1798 and bought 110 acres, a part of the farm now owned by Supervisor Smith. The purchase price was \$6 an acre. The avails of his potash industry soon paid for the land. Other farms were purchased and in 1824 he was the owner of about 700 acres. He was a man of ability, and success attended all his business, including the buying and selling of country produce. For many years he was a partner with Robert Nesbitt in the butter and cheese trade. He gave each of his sons a farm when they married. In 1836 he induced his sons to sell their farms and with five of them, removed to Galesburg, Ill., and located on government land there, he giving each of his sons a section of land. The change was extremely fortunate in a money sense. The Ferris family were originally from Connecticut. The youngest son of Sylvanus, George W. G., recently died in California. This enterprising family had crossed the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, before the day of railroads. Ferris of World's Fair wheel notoriety was a grandson of the subject of this sketch.

No lawyer ever resided in Norway, but several able pettifoggers in justice courts flourished. Among the number was John Coe and Ira Coe, his nephew, and Daniel C. Henderson, grandfather of the somewhat honest Herkimer attorney, Hon. John Dryden Henderson. Of the early history of this vicinity no man was as conversant as Daniel C. Henderson, and to him we are indebted for many historical facts. Of large stature, commanding presence and superior social

qualities, he was a born leader in political and local affairs.

The town has been represented eleven years in the assembly department of the state legislature as follows :

Thomas Manley in 1799, 1809, 1820.

Nicoll Fosdick in 1818, 1819.

Henry Tillinghast in 1823, 1835.

D. C. Henderson in 1827.

Jefferson Tillinghast in 1847.

S. R. Millington in 1860.

Henry Tillinghast, Jr. in 1865.

The two last Tillinghast named were sons of Henry Tillinghast.

In 1802 Wm. H. Cook was appointed sheriff and held the office four years.

Nicoll Fosdick was elected presidential elector in 1816. He was a native of New London, Connecticut; a scholarly, dignified man, and a relative of our old time merchant, Frederick Mason, with whom he resided.

This town has been favored with official political honors in the past, and is ready and willing for further service.

Westel Willoughby was the first doctor. He located on the hills some two miles north-east of the village in 1793.

Amos Coe and Thomas Brayton in 1793 opened taverns.

Capt. David Hinman built a saw mill on Sulphur Spring brook and Carpenter Cole a grist mill near ex-Supervisor Comstock's the same year.

The first prominent merchants were W. H. and Geo. W. Cook. They came from Dutchess county in 1793 with capital and enterprise and located one-half mile north of our present village. Cook's store was the rallying point for all town business for some fifteen years thereafter.

Frederick Mason bought out Cooper & Sanford and opened a store in our village in 1816 and continued business until about 1840. Charles Bradley built the store now occupied by J. H. Bliss in 1816 and was a prominent merchant here for nine years after. He died suddenly in 1825. Within the memory of persons now living, more mercantile business was done at Norway Corners than in the villages of Cold Brook, Poland and Middleville combined.

The first school was taught by Janette Henderson in 1793. In 1806 Phebe Smith taught in the Barnes district near Byron Comstock's, boarding around and receiving \$1 a week, payable in any kind of farm produce at the close of the year.

Arnold Willoughby was a noted wheel maker at the beginning of the century, supplying this section of country with wool and flax wheels.

Several cheese box shops flourished in former years. Now we have no manufacturing interests and no prospects of any in the future save cheese factories.

Within town bounds we can point out the deserted sites of one distillery, three grist mills, three wool carding mills, six saw mills and ten tanneries.

Josiah Smith opened the first tavern in Norway village in 1806, the year that the state road was laid out.

Our first and only postoffice was established in 1813 with Josiah Smith, postmaster. The mail route for 30 years was over the state road from Johnstown to Trenton.

The census of 1825 showed a population of 1,168, greater than at any future enumeration. The number today would not exceed 850. At the last census in 1890 it was 817. In these times of debt, doubt and depression, it is not likely to increase.

The first religious meetings were held in 1792. Presbyterian and Methodist societies were formed previous to 1800. The first Methodist church in the county was built in 1808 a mile and a half east of Norway village on the Jerseyfield road. This road, extending from the Mohawk river due north to the Jerseyfield patent, was thickly settled and a number of the families were prominent Methodists. The old Union church at the village was built in 1814 and used by all denominations, except Methodist, until 1831. At least half the settlers prior to 1800 were natives of Rhode Island and Baptist in sentiment. The Norway Baptists became members of the Newport church. In 1829 a Baptist society was formed in town and their church built in 1831. The prominent members of the early Baptists here were, Osee Bronson,

Christopher Cadman and Samuel Western and families. The Episcopalians organized a church in 1819. For a time it was quite strong in membership, but was discontinued over twenty years since. The Presbyterians were the strong denomination of former days. Their organization was abandoned some fifty years ago. The Free Will Baptists at one time had quite a society, long since out of existence. The M. E. church at the village was built in 1838 and at Black Creek the same year. The first Catholic came to town in 1842; they now constitute one-fourth of our population and materially lessen attendance at the Protestant churches.

Noted religious revivals occurred in 1830 conducted by Rev. Augustus Littlejohn in the Presbyterian church, and in 1834 at the Baptist church conducted by the Rev. Jacob Knapp. These old time religious excitements were called protracted meetings.

The early settlers soon found that our stony uneven service was poorly adapted for grain raising, with Albany for our nearest market. Our soil is adapted to grazing. Some of the New England emigrants brought the art of cheese making with them. Several small dairies of from six to ten cows were established before 1810.

Colonel Jared Thayer, a native of Berkshire County, Mass., was our pioneer cheese dairyman. About the year 1812 he had a dairy numbering 20 cows, the first of that size in the county or state. It was located on Dairy Hill on the farm owned by W. P. VanVechten. Before 1830 cheese dairying became universal and this town is entitled to the credit of being the pioneer town that gave Herkimer county cheese a reputation in former years. Ferris & Nesbitt were the first buyers, followed by Harry Burwell. The first cheese factory was erected in 1864; there are now seven in town.

Our ancestors endured privations, but their poverty was hopeful. They were self supporting. Their fields furnished wheat and flax, their flocks and herds, wool, meat and leather; their trees, maple sugar. Our hatters, tailors,

coopers and shoemakers made us comparatively independent of the outside world. Every home was a manufacturing factory; in the year 1824 over 16,000 yards of home made cloth was produced. Winter work of threshing and flax dressing was in demand. Taxation was light and politicians honest. The curse of vote buying and selling was unknown. The effeminate luxuries of these days did not prevail. The years of our greatest prosperity extended from 1800 to 1850.

Now how different; we are dependent on bob veals, the store and cheese factory. Not a bushel of wheat is raised or a yard of cloth made. We are staying in the world without a doctor, shoemaker or tailor. Who will blame us for feeling pessemistic as we think and write of former days.

This crude sketch of our history refers mainly to events prior to 1840. Let other historians tell of later ones.

PIRACY IN ITS RELATION TO THE COLONY OF NEW YORK.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society May 14, 1898.

Piracy has been practiced ever since vessels began to sail the seas; and during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the first quarter of the nineteenth, the civilized governments of the world were frequently engaged in fighting pirates and in attempts to suppress piracy. These rovers of the sea plundered not only merchant vessels, but sometime successfully engaged government frigates and cruisers and defied the skill and prowess of the most renowned naval commanders.

In the settlement of this country, many adventurers and desperate men flocked hither from nearly all parts of Europe; and soon the coasts and ports of this country became the rendezvous of pirates who preyed principally upon the commerce of Spain, France, England and Holland. Their wicked trade was carried on along the coasts of this country, among the West India Islands, along the coasts of Africa, and even as far east as Madagascar, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. They prowled about in the tracks of commerce upon all the seas, and they usually found some friendly port where they could enjoy or dispose of their plunder.

In the seventeenth century, the city of New York was a famous resort of pirates. There piratical vessels were fitted

out and supplied with men; and there and upon Long Island they sold their plunder to friendly traders. They were largely popular with the people, and usually escaped arrest; and when arrested and put upon trial, friendly juries failed to convict them. Judges, constables, sheriffs, jailers and high colonial officials befriended them and sometimes shared in their plunder. They were in fact more popular than honest traders.

In 1655 pirates under Sebastian de Raeff, after a bloody engagement near the island of Jamaica, captured a Spanish ship, killed her captain and seven of her crew, and captured sixty negroes whom they took to New York, then New Amsterdam, and sold for slaves. The Negroes, although subsequently identified, were not restored to their owner; and although the Spanish government made complaint, the pirates were never brought to justice.

While the piratical operations were usually distant from the coasts of this country, in August, 1686, pirates took and robbed three American vessels off the coast of Rhode Island. In 1687, King James, the second, complained of the partiality of juries here for pirates, and of the facility with which they were acquitted. About 1695, while Colonel

Fletcher was governor of the Province, pirates came to New York with their plunder, and a member of the Provincial Council is said to have acted as their broker in the disposition of their plunder and in procuring them protection. It is said that the governor entertained them at his house and drove them in his carriage through the streets of the city, and that his wife and daughter received presents from them; and it was supposed that even the Chief Justice of the Province favored the pirates. At that time they had rendezvouses on Long Island and Block Island; and New York was a nest of pirates.

In July 1699, the Earl of Bellomont, then Governor of New York, reporting to the Lords of Trade in England, said: "I understand there are about thirty pirates come lately into the east end of Nassau (now Long) Island, and have a great deal of money with them. But so cherished are they by the inhabitants that not a man of them is taken up." About the same time it is represented that the famous pirate, Captain Kidd, had dropped some pirates there, and that Arabian gold was plenty. In August 1699, the Earl of Bellomont again reporting to the Lords of Trade, said: "Piracy does and will prevail in the Province of New York in spite of all my endeavors unless three things be done, viz: Good judges and an honest and able attorney general from England; a man of war commanded by an honest, stout captain; and pay and recruits for four companies. Captain Giles Shelly who came lately from Madagascar with fifty or sixty pirates has so flushed them at New York with Arabian gold and East India goods that they set the government at defiance. My Lieutenant Governor is under great discouragement. He would punish Shelly if he could; but he has not a man to advise with. Those that are honest are not capable; and those who are capable, whose duty it is, are false and corrupt. When any seizures are made and they are brought to trial, the King is sure to be cast. So everything is wrong for want of honesty chiefly in the officers of

justice." In the same month of August a piratical ship arrived in Delaware Bay and landed twenty pirates in Pennsylvania where "the people were so kind to them and so helpful in carrying them from place to place that he had been able to find out but only two." About that time Captain Kidd also arrived in the bay with about forty men and vast treasures, and he was supplied with what he wanted, and his men went back and forth openly between the vessel and the land.

It was in such an age and under such conditions that Kidd whose fame is celebrated in fiction, poetry and history was developed into a pirate. He was born in Scotland and is said to have been the son of a minister. He had followed the sea from his youth and had drifted like so many other daring navigators into New York; and he had become a bold and successful shipmaster from that port. In 1691, he distinguished himself as a privateersman against the French in the West Indies; and he received one hundred and fifty pounds from New York for protecting the colony against pirates. In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, England was almost constantly at war with France or Spain, and she commissioned privateers against her enemies; and when once upon the ocean they frequently turned pirates and preyed indiscriminately upon the commerce of all nations.

In 1695, the Earl of Bellomont, Robert Livingston, the founder of the great American family of that name, and Captain Kidd entered into an agreement to share in certain proportions in the profits of privateering, after giving the government one-tenth; and subsequently Kidd received under the great seal of England a commission as a privateer against the French. They, Bellomont, Livingston and Kidd, bought the Adventure Galley, a new ship of two hundred and eighty-seven tons and thirty-four guns, and Kidd sailed in her from Plymouth, England, in April 1696, and came first to the coast of New Foundland and then to New York. Governor Fletcher writing from New York to the

Lords of Trade shortly after said: after a trial said to have been grossly unfair he was convicted and he was "Many flocked to him from all parts, men of desperate fortunes and necessity, hung protesting his innocence to the last in expectation of getting vast treasure, with nine of his associates. He was not He sailed from hence with one hundred allowed counsel upon his trial, and was and fifty men as I am informed. Great not permitted to send for papers or witnesses. His defense was that he killed part of them are of this province. It is one of his crew in a mutiny and that he generally believed here they will have money, *perfas aut nefas* ; that if he miss was forced into piracy by his men. At of the design intended for which he the time of his death he owned several has commission, it will not be in Kidd's houses in New York City which were power to govern such a hoard of men forfeited to the crown. After his death under no pay." It turned out as was search was made in many places for his predicted, that in a short time Kidd was buried treasures, upon Long Island and in engaged in piracy ; and rumors to that the lower Hudson valley and at other effect reached England in 1698. After places, but they were all fruitless although engaged in various piracies in dif- though continued from time to time ferent parts of the world, he came again down to the middle of this century. It to the coast of this country in 1699. He is believed that the treasure found on visited New York, Long Island, Boston Gardner's Island before his execution and other places, and buried some of his was all that was concealed on this plunder on Gardiner's Island in Long continent. Island Sound where it was subsequently Piracy has now disappeared from the found, amounting in value to a large seas except in the China and India seas sum. The Earl of Bellomont, then where pirates occasionally still appear, governor, took measures to arrest him, and even privateering is condemned by and by his artifice he was entrapped and the general sentiment of civilized nations arrested at Boston in July 1699. He and has not anywhere been practiced in claimed to have vast treasures hid which many years. Pirates are the enemy of he offered to disclose if allowed even as mankind and they will never again be a prisoner to go to the places where he tolerated by the powers of the earth; had concealed them. In May 1700, and hence this paper deals with a state Bellomont sent him to England. He was of things which will not again appear in there indicted and put upon his trial, and our modern civilization.

JOHN CHRISTIAN SHELL AND HIS BLOCK HOUSE.

AN ADDRESS BY ALBERT L. HOWELL, OF MOHAWK,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society September 10, 1898.

Of the many bloody encounters by the Indians and Tories with the first settlers of the Mohawk valley during the revolution, none were more worthy to be recorded by the historian for acts of courage and heroism, in defending the home and fireside, than that of John Christian Shell and his wife, a brave and patriotic couple, who in 1780 with their six sons, lived in the settlement now called Shells Bush, about four miles northeast of Herkimer village.

It was with them, as with all the defenseless inhabitants then, throughout the country, except those living quite near to American forts. They were constantly exposed to the raids of marauding bands of hostile Indians and Tories, making their murderous incursions with rapine and slaughter. And Shell, possessing the true American spirit of independence, determined to withstand the attacks of these mercenaries of the British crown, with becoming bravery. Confident of his ability to resist successfully, he erected a strong blockhouse on his farm, well constructed for purposes of defense against any attack that might be made, and resolved to "hold the fort," with the aid of his wife and sons whenever surprises might occur, and not be forced to flee to Fort Dayton for protection.

The structure was made of hewn logs, two stories in height. The first story

had no windows, but small loopholes on all sides through which the besieged could fire upon their assailants.

The floor of the second story projected three feet over the first, and had apertures affording ample means of firing perpendicularly down upon the enemy, or of casting missiles upon their heads, when attempting to fire the building or force open the massive entrance door.

Shell kept in reserve at all times an ample supply of ammunition to stand an ordinary siege whenever the enemy should give them battle.

In a raid on the 6th of August in 1780, Donald McDonald, a Scotch refugee from Johnstown, and two other noted traitors, Empie and Casseleman, with about sixty Indians and Tories, made their appearance in the settlement for the purpose of destroying the Shell blockhouse and killing or capturing the Shell family.

At the time of this descent by McDonald most of the inhabitants had taken refuge in Fort Dayton, the report having been circulated that this hostile movement was to be made upon the settlement. Shell resolved to stand the siege and fight in his own fort with the aid of his wife and sons, being a firm believer in the old saying that "every man's house is his castle."

He and his sons were at work in the field when McDonald and his party

made their appearance a little after noon. They immediately fled to the blockhouse, and all were gathered within, except the twin lads eight years old, who were unfortunately separated so widely from the rest of the family, as to fall into the hands of the enemy. Having secured the entrance door, they saw an Indian within the range of their guns, holding the boys, one on each side by the hands. Shell immediately shot the Indian while still in this attitude, but did not succeed in freeing the twins, who were at once seized by others of the enemy. Then the battle commenced. Shell and his little garrison resolved to give their besiegers a warm reception, and kept up a spirited fight throughout the afternoon until night, Mrs. Shell being very active in loading the guns to be fired by her husband and sons. The enemy were many times compelled to retreat beyond their well aimed and galling fire. McDonald having procured a crowbar attempted to force the entrance, and while thus engaged, was shot in the leg by Shell and felled to the ground, and as none of his associates were near to rescue him, Shell quickly unbarred the door and pulled the wounded Tory into the fortress, a prisoner.

This capture not only saved the fortress from having a breach made in it, but also prevented its being set on fire by the besiegers, as they would not be willing to burn the structure while their leader was held a prisoner within. It also gave the besieged an additional supply of ammunition, as McDonald's life was spared on condition of giving up his ammunition.

After a short respite the enemy, maddened by the loss of several of their number and the capture of their commander, returned and made a vigorous effort to take the fortress by assault. They came up to the walls and thrust their guns through the loopholes, when Mrs. Shell by well directed blows with an axe ruined every musket by bending the barrels, after which several well aimed shots from the little garrison compelled

the besiegers to retire beyond the range of their guns.

Just at dark and while the enemy still linger in sight, Shell used a little stratagem which caused them to suppose the American troops from Fort Dayton were approaching to their aid. He went to the upper story and called out to his wife in a loud voice, saying that Captain Small was appearing in sight from Fort Dayton. In a few moments with a louder voice, he exclaimed: "Captain Small, march your company on this side of the house; Captain Getman you had better wheel your company off to the left and come up on that side." Deceived by this artifice the enemy fled from view, taking with them the twins. After providing for the wounded McDonald as best they could and setting before him the best provisions they had, Shell and his family lost no time in repairing to Fort Dayton which they reached in safety under cover of darkness. Some of McDonald's Indians lingered about to ascertain the fate of their leader, and, finding that Shell and his family had evacuated the fortress, ventured within, and finding his condition too critical to permit his removal by them, they left him to the mercy of the Americans, with a message to be given by him to Shell, that the welfare of his little boys depended on the best treatment possible being given McDonald.

The wounded Tory was conveyed to Fort Dayton the next day, where amputation of his leg was performed by the surgeon of the fort, but the loss of blood was so great that he died in a few hours after. He wore a silver mounted tomahawk which Shell took from him, on the handle of which were thirty-two scalp notches, the tally of horrid deeds committed by him in imitation of his Indian associates. Few Indians could have been more industrious in gathering that kind of trophies.

The enemy's loss in this attack on the Shell blockhouse was quite severe, eleven killed and twelve wounded. Not one of the defenders was injured. The twin sons returned after the war and stated that nine out of the twelve

wounded, who were returning to Canada, died before reaching there.

In the following year Shell was again surprised by a band of hostiles who were determined on revenge for the affair of the previous year. At this time no warning was given and no opportunity of retreating to the blockhouse. While Shell and two of his sons were busy at work in the field the murderous hostiles stealthily approached them through a wheat field and fired upon them from ambush. Shell received a mortal wound. The sons remained with their father, as he requested them not to leave him to be scalped. They held the Indians at bay with their guns by advancing and firing alternately, until a guard and medical aid could be had from Fort Dayton; but before it arrived one of the sons was killed and the other wounded. Shell and the surviving son was duty cared for together with the rest of the family at the fort. He did not long survive, his wound proving fatal, and his death following quickly after that of the son. And thus closed the lives of father and son, sacrificed on the altar of devotion to kindred against the assaults of the enemy.

While Shell was suffering from his wound, he quietly and cheerfully praised God, using the words of the famous hymn of Martin Luther, "Ein Feste Burg," composed during the perils and afflictions of this great reformer; Shell being a descendant of the German Lutheran emigrants who came to this country in 1722.

Soon after this, the surrender of the entire army of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Va., October 19th, 1781, so discouraged the loyalists that there were no further demonstrations against any of the settlements by armed forces. The Indians in small bands still continued to appear around the borders of some of the settlements in the following years, but they did not attempt any hostile movements on the inhabitants beyond creating alarm.

Peace being finally declared the hostile Indian tribes returned to their retreats in the wilderness and such of the

tories that became submissive returned to their homes. And the valley of the Mohawk and the country throughout, soon smiled with the abundance produced by the industry of its undisturbed and peaceful inhabitants, whose burdens and long suffering under the British yoke were at last thrown off.

The Shell blockhouse long ago succumbed to the ravages of time, and nothing marks the spot. If there is no monument raised to commemorate the heroism of its occupants, their lives and deeds yet live in the hearts of his German descendants and the people of Herkimer county.

At a recent visit to Shells Bush, the writer called upon Mr. Marcus Rasbach and Mr. Sanford Eysaman, both life long residents in the immediate vicinity where these events occurred, and learned from them much unwritten history concerning the Shell blockhouse, the traditional account of the battle and the exact location of the building. It stood on the lands now owned by Mr. Rasbach, about sixty rods north of his residence.

These events like many other similar ones which occurred during the revolution, not having any rank as military engagements by the American forces, the story of them was left almost wholly to tradition. Hence the many differing accounts given of it. In the main the story as here given is believed to be correct.

There is in possession of Mr. Eysaman, son of Sanford Eysaman, now residing about two miles south of Mohawk village, a relic once owned by Shell. It is an elaborate hand engraved powder horn, upon which is cut the name in old English capital letters "John Christian Shell," encircling the large end. The horn measures about sixteen inches in length. The entire surface of it is covered with well executed designs of hunting scenes, animals, trees, etc. The date is given 1759. Any further attempt to describe it on paper would fail to do justice to the artist's work. It is highly prized by its possessor, and is said to be the only souvenir preserved of this Shell family.

FORT DAYTON.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, September 10, 1898.

The land in and surrounding the village of Herkimer was, prior to and during the revolutionary war, known as the German Flatts. It was situated on the western border of the territory of the Mohawks, and the Mohawk river was one of the principal highways for the Iroquois Indians. This locality was exposed to Indian raids from all directions. The settlers here were loyal to the revolutionary cause. Throughout the Mohawk valley there were Tories, largely influenced by the family of Sir William Johnson, who stimulated and aided the Indians in their savage forays. The Palatines here and in this vicinity were on the borders of civilization - all west and north of this place being substantially an unbroken wilderness, the home of wild beasts and more savage men. It was this exposed position of the settlements here that induced General Schuyler early in the revolutionary war to provide, so far as he could, for their protection, and for that purpose in the fall of 1776, he sent Elias Dayton, colonel of a New Jersey regiment, to here build and repair forts. Fort Herkimer and Fort Stanwix built during the French war having become dilapidated were substantially rebuilt by him; and here he built Fort Dayton which took his name, and Fort Stanwix in honor of General Schuyler was named after him

and was there after known as Fort Schuyler.

I have after most diligent search been unable to find anywhere any particular description of Fort Dayton. It was a stockaded fort occupying the land now bounded by German, Washington, Court and Main streets in this village and probably more. I have heard it said that the land where the court house and the Reformed church now stand was within the stockade. No remains of this fort came down to the time of anyone now here except the well which was dug for the use of the fort. That was in the rear of the houses on Main street now owned by Mr. Patrick upon land owned by Jasper Ausman, and it remained until within a few years when he filled it up and built a house over it.

Prior to the building of Fort Dayton there was no governmental fort here. Some of the houses were probably fortified by their owners for protection against the Indians, and, during the French war, for protection against the French and Indians. M. deBelletre, in the account he gave to the French government of the destruction of the Palatine settlement here by the French and Indians under his command, in November 1757, speaks of five forts standing here for the protection of the settlement, and says he

took them all and burned them. This was an exaggeration, like much of the rest of his narrative, for the purpose of magnifying his achievements. There were no real forts here, and if there were forts of any kind, they were mere dwelling houses somewhat fortified.

October 21, 1776, Captain Allen, who was in command at Fort Dayton, wrote to Major General Schuyler that he had 123 effective men and four swivel guns, but not more than 12 bls. of powder and a few cartridges, and no ammunition for the swivel guns.

It was at Fort Dayton that General Herkimer, about the last of August 1777, assembled his troops for their march to the relief of Fort Schuyler at Rome against the attack of Gen. St. Leger. Here were the members of the Tryon county committee of safety, and about 800 militia with their officers who responded to Gen. Herkimer's call. All was bustle about the fort, and, as the brave soldiers marched out under their heroic leader, many anxious hearts and tearful eyes of fathers, mothers, wives and children were left behind. Of those who marched out, about two hundred gave their lives upon the Oriskany battle field and nearly the same number were brought back wounded. When the news of the battle reached the fort, and also that Fort Schuyler was still invested by the British, Tories and Indians, consternation prevailed in the fort. Confidence was again restored when it was learned that Gen. Benedict Arnold was on his way up the Mohawk valley with continental troops for the relief of Fort Schuyler. He arrived at Fort Dayton about the 23rd of August, and here he found some of the men who had been in the battle of Oriskany and other brave men of the valley, and he took command of them. He moved from the fort on the 23rd of August and had proceeded but half a day when he learned that the siege of Fort Schuyler had been abandoned. As he retraced his steps to take part in the campaign against Gen. Burgoyne, he took with him nearly all the soldiers who had been in the fort and left but a small garrison there to

guard the public property and keep the fort. Col. Watson with part of a Massachusetts regiment remained in Fort Dayton during the siege of Fort Schuyler.

During the remainder of that year and during the first eight months of the year 1778, the soldiers were the only tenants of the fort. The inhabitants felt secure and lived in their homes and planted and cultivated their fields. But about September 1st, 1778, the fort again became the center of exciting scenes. The famous chieftain Brant, with his warriors had planned the destruction of the settlements here, and notice of his approach had been brought to the settlements by the famous scout, John Adam Helmer, a little before sundown on the day preceding the intended attack. He rushed into the settlements torn and bloody from the wounds he had received from the brambles and bushes through which he had plunged informing the settlers that the Indians would be upon them in a few hours. All was again excitement and bustle in and about the fort, and the terrified inhabitants here were hastily, during the night, gathered into the fort with such articles of household furniture as they could carry, leaving their flocks and herds and grain and houses behind them a prey to the Indians. The Indians came for this attack down the ravine, on the south side of the Mohawk river, which comes into the valley a short distance west of the house now owned by Mr. David D. Spencer, and they remained at that house during the night until dawn when they entered upon their work of destruction here; and from the fort the inhabitants saw the flames and smoke of their burning houses and barns, all of which were destroyed. Among other buildings destroyed were the dwelling house, barns and gristmill of Dr. William Petrie, my grandfather, which were situated about a half a mile north of German street on the stream which passes southerly just east of the dwelling house of Mr. Horrocks in this village. The foundations of the mill and dwelling house are still visible. His barns were

filled with grain and his family and furniture were moved to the fort in the night, and as the last load proceeded on its way the Indians could be heard in the woods. Fortunately, in consequence of the timely notice given by Helmer, only two lives were lost in the settlement, one man having been killed by the Indians and another having perished in the flames. The Indians having no firearms but their rifles, made no demonstration against the fort, but contented themselves with the burning of the buildings, driving off all the live stock they could find and taking such other articles of personal property as they deemed useful and could carry.

The inhabitants being thus deprived of their homes, thereafter, until the practical termination of the war, generally lived in the fort, men, women and children with the soldiers and some horses and cattle. The men would sometimes go out upon the surrounding land, usually carrying their rifles, to plant, cultivate and gather crops; and several in this way lost their lives. The Indians would come upon them while they were engaged in their labors, stealthily, and shoot them down before they could escape or assume an attitude of defense. The firing would be heard at the fort, when the soldiers would rush out to rescue the persons thus exposed and sometimes they returned with their dead and mutilated bodies. In my young days I frequently heard the stories of these encounters outside the fort, and of the tragic deaths or hairbreadth escapes of the persons who thus exposed themselves.

The year 1781 was full of exciting events at the fort. In May of that year, Fort Schuyler was destroyed by fire and flood; and then the garrison there was removed to this fort, which by the direction of General Lafayette was enlarged and strengthened; and it thereafter became the main defense of the frontier settlements.

About the first of July, 1781, Captain Woodworth marched from Fort Dayton with forty-nine white soldiers and six Onondaga Indians going up the West Can-

ada Creek in pursuit of Indians and Tories; and when about three miles from the fort on the east side of the creek they were caught in an ambushade and Captain Woodworth and more than half of his men were killed and several, not more than eight, were taken prisoners, and about a dozen only returned to the fort. The place of the ambushade can not be accurately located; but it was probably about midway in a straight line between the West Canada Creek and Eaton's Bush. This was one of the bloodiest skirmishes of the war.

Christian Schell was one of the sturdy heroic characters developed by the hardships and perils of frontier life. Early in the war he had erected a log house in Schell's Bush upon the farm now owned by Marcus Rasbach; and there he resided with his family after his neighbors had removed to the fort for protection. The house was strongly built for defense. He had lived there with his wife and children undisturbed, until August 6th, 1781, when Lieutenant McDonald with over sixty Tories and Indians attempted to storm the house. The heroic and successful defense of Schell with his wife and three sons has no parallel for heroism upon land in the annals of our country. The story is too well known to need repetition here. McDonald was wounded and dragged into the house a prisoner. After the retreat of the enemy, Schell and his family in the night-time fled to the fort; and the next morning a strong party went from the fort to Schell's Bush and found McDonald where he had been left, and they took and removed him to the fort. There his wounded leg was amputated by Dr. Petrie and he died from the loss of blood. I heard one of my uncle's who was in the fort, say that he saw McDonald when he was brought there, and I knew John Doxtater, the grandfather of Mrs. A. M. Gray of this village, and Adam Hartman, ancestor of the Hartman's also living here, who were among those who pursued the Tories and Indians in their retreat after the attack, both of whom lived to be upwards of ninety years old.

In the latter part of October of the same year Col. Willett, with 400 of his men and 60 Oneida Indians, marched from Fort Dayton in pursuit of Major Ross and Walter N. Butler and the Tories and Indians with them up the West Canada creek, and overtook them in the town of Norway, and pursued them in their retreat until compelled by fatigue and want of food to give up the pursuit. Butler, one of the cruelest and most dangerous Tories, who had been engaged in ravaging the border settlements, was killed on the banks of the West Canada creek, about ten miles above Trenton Falls. Willett returned to Fort Dayton, having lost but one man. There was great rejoicing at the fort, particularly over the death of Butler. The soldiers were famished, having had scarcely anything to eat for two days, and a great feast was made for them in the fort, in the preparation of which all the housewives living there took part, which was enjoyed amidst much rejoicing. Dr. Petrie was with this expedition as surgeon.

There were many other occurrences during the revolutionary war having relation to Fort Dayton of less importance, which, with a single exception, I must omit. At some time during the war, probably in 1778, Peter F. Bellinger, grandfather of Henry Bellinger of this village, was upon the ramparts of the fort, when he discovered some Indians prowling at some distance at the foot of the hill at the north of the fort, and he fired at them, but missed. Then one of the Indians fired at him, and his body being partly exposed above the ramparts, he was shot through the shoulder. He was a very brave and athletic man, and was so enraged that he made an effort to get out of the fort to pursue the Indians, but was restrained by his comrades.

To guard against such scouting Indians, late in the war, a block house was built upon the Weber hill, north of the

fort, and manned with a few soldiers. In that there was a cannon that could fire shots across the valley, and thereafter there was no trouble from marauding enemies.

I regret that my researches about Fort Dayton have been so meagre in results. In my youth I knew several of the people who were in the fort and took part in the stirring events which clustered about it. But then I did not realize the importance of the information which they could impart. Now most of the facts have passed into oblivion, and it is too late even to get any description of the fort which protected our ancestors.

Before closing I must state a few interesting facts about Col. Dayton and his family. He was one of the most gallant and meritorious officers in the revolutionary war. He had previously had service under General Wolfe in the taking of Quebec. He was prominently engaged in the battles of Springfield, Monmouth, Brandywine and Yorktown, and during the war had three horses shot under him. He became a brigadier general and a member of the continental congress. His son Jonathan was also an officer in the revolutionary army and was in many battles, being under Lafayette in the battle of Yorktown. He was a member of the convention to frame the federal constitution, a member of congress for several terms and for two terms speaker thereof and a United States senator from New Jersey. A grandson, William Dayton, was also a United States senator from the same state, was the candidate in 1856 of the republican party for vice president on the ticket with Gen. Fremont and was minister to France, appointed by President Lincoln, dying at his post of duty in Paris in 1864. It is very rare in the history of our country that so much honor and distinction have come to one family. Fort Dayton was thus honored in the name it bore and in the heroic men and women it sheltered.

THE TOWN OF DANUBE.

AN ADDRESS BY EDWARD SIMMS, OF THE TOWN OF MANHEIM,

Delivred before the Herkimer County Historical Society September 10, 1898.

Of the aboriginal history of what is now known as the town of Danube, but little save tradition is known. At the time of the advent of the Palatine, commencing about the year 1712 and continuing for several years thereafter King Hendrick, the great chieftain of the Mohawks, had his home at or near the present mouth of the Nowadaga creek. Here for generations unknown the Mohawks, then by far the most numerous and powerful of all the tribes afterwards known as the Five Nations, had hunted the wild beasts of the forest, paddled their birch bark canoes upon the stream that yet bears their name, and made war upon their savage neighbors east, west and south of them. But with the advent of the sturdy Hollander from the lowlands and their German neighbors from the highlands of Central Europe, a mighty change was brought into the history of these sons of the forest. Civilization opened up a great gap, and where the war-whoop had once rung out could now be heard the whack of the axe and the roar of the falling forest tree.

History gives mention of naught but peace between the native and the foreign residents of the valley, until the breaking out of the French and Indian war, about the year 1755. From thence forward until the close of the Revolutionary struggle, the early settlers of

Danube, like all of their neighbors up and down the Mohawk valley, were subjected to the inhuman treatment of the traitorous Tories and their Indian allies.

The land lying upon both sides of the Mohawk was patented about the year 1730, and settlements were soon afterwards rapidly made. The town of Manheim was more fully settled at an early date than the town of Danube. The flat lands on the north of the river afforded greater inducements to the keen-eyed Hollander than the rough and rugged shores upon the south side, and though a number of families were located near the mouth of the Nowadaga early in 1700, the greater portion of Danube was unbroken forest until the close of the war of the Revolution.

The Herkimer family were among the earliest settlers, and while they accumulated a large property and members thereof became prominent in the history of our county and state, they showed a great lack of judgment in the location of their lands—for of all the rough and rocky farms lying in the Mohawk valley, the Herkimer farm can easily take the lead.

History both local and national have time and again given to the public a record of the prominent events in the life of our favorite general and a repetition here would be entirely out of

order. The Herkimer, Van Alstyne, Seeber, Schuyler and Hess families were among the earliest settlers, and the most of them were loyal to their adopted country at the time of the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle, but it was not an uncommon occurrence to find one or more of the members of each family who chose to cast their lot with the followers of the crown, and thus cast a shadow upon the history of many an otherwise honored family.

Soon after the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the colonies, settlers from the Hudson river counties, Connecticut and Rhode Island began to found new homes for themselves and their descendants upon the hitherto unoccupied lands lying both north and south of the Mohawk river, and within twenty-five years the lands within the present limits of Danube had been entirely taken up.

The German settlers in the selection of farming lands by far out-generated the New Englanders. The former were reared upon the rich bottom lands of Holland, and the latter had never seen aught but the rocks and clay of sterile New England, and thought that New York state was all built on the eastern plain. The finest farms in Danube at this date and lying adjacent to Montgomery county are owned and almost exclusively occupied by the descendants of the early German families. As the Hollanders for generations past have used wind mills for procuring water for the use of the dairy, so these descendants of the thrifty Lowlander today use wind mills for a like purpose.

The name of the first family to found a home in eastern Danube I have been unable to ascertain, but during the time from 1790 to 1810, the families of the Cronkhites, Davies, Snells Smiths, Bellingers, Dillenbecks, Duestlers, Wagoners and Countrymans settled in what is now known as the western portion of Dutchtown. Lying partly in Danube and partly in Minden are about 5,000 acres of as fine farming lands as the state of New York can boast of.

At about the same date as before mentioned, the families of the Ostranders, Mesicks, Delongs, Harders, Walters, Johnsons and Spoors settled upon the broad uplands of what is now known as Fire Hill. Whence or why this name I cannot tell, but for the past fifty years that term has been in common use to designate the southern part of the town.

At about the same time that the eastern portion of the town was taken possession of the families of Ackermans, Deckers, Carvers, Snells, Bushes and Bellingers settled in the western part of the town. These families were less fortunate in the selection of their land. They were possessed of less means, and in most instances they occupied land leased from the Bleeker estate at a yearly rental of so many pecks of wheat per acre, payment of which was made at Albany. For many years the occupants of the land sought to purchase the title in fee, and it is only within the past thirty years that the last full title has been acquired. In nearly every instance the land thus leased and afterward purchased is now occupied by tenant farmers, while as before mentioned, lands lying in the eastern and southern portions of the town are almost without an exception owned and occupied by the descendants of the original settlers.

The general appearance of the above mentioned locality is quite marked, and I can partially attribute it to two causes: First, the soil is less productive, and discouragement soon follows a scanty crop. Second, there was a mixture of Yankee blood among the last mentioned settlers, and mankind everywhere knows that the Yankee is satisfied only with quick returns and large profits. If the soil fails to respond it is leased to a foreigner and the owner seeks some other field of labor, either public or private.

The families of Landt, Jones, Baum, Garlock, Gardinier and Stafford came into town early in 1800, and occupied the land in the central part of the town. In the case of the last above named families the greater portion have sold the original farms, which are now occupied

by tenants. The exception is the Gardinier family, who still own and occupy about 500 acres of the original purchase.

Among the early settlers in the northern part of the town were the Hess family, more prominent in early history than some of the others, from the fact that Augustine Hess is mentioned as one of the patentees of the Burnetsfield Patent. One member of the family was one of the committee of safety at the commencement of the revolutionary struggle. The elder, Augustine Hess, was killed by the Indians in 1782.

The Reed family came from Dutchess county about the year 1800. The Walraths, Devendorfs, Shalls, Foxes and Cramers were all early settlers, and like their German neighbors of the eastern part of the town, they selected choice lots for farms, and the large red barns, white houses and neat outbuildings of today attest the good judgment of the original owners.

The Green family, once one of the largest in point of numbers in Danube, several members of which in former years occupied positions of trust, have at this date nearly all removed to other localities.

In and around what is now known as Newville settlements were begun in 1792. The first who came were Isaiah and Nathan Wilcox, brothers. They came from the barren and rocky shore at Watch Hill, in Rhode Island, now one of the most fashionable seaside resorts upon the Atlantic coast.

In the summer of 1791 these two brothers, with their ox teams, journeyed from their New England home into the upper valley of the Nowadaga. They had secured a lease from the Bleckers of two lots of land. Here alone in the forest they built a log house for each of the brothers, cleared and burned a few acres of land, sowed sufficient wheat for the next year's crop, and in the early autumn they returned to their Rhode Island home. The first snow of winter found them, with their young wives and children, one a babe of three months old, safely packed with all their earthly belongings in their ox sleigh on the road

to their Danube home. Christmas day they crossed the Hudson river at Albany on the ice, and a few days more brought them to their future home. Here for over fifty years the brothers and their wives toiled and prospered.

Of the family of the eldest of the brothers, Nathan, I am more particularly acquainted, and you will pardon this, my allusion to him and his family of ten children. Three sons and seven daughters were born to him, all of whom lived, grew to manhood and womanhood, married and had families of their own. Nathan Wilcox was gathered to rest in 1842, and sixty-seven grandchildren blessed his name. The youngest grandchild of Nathan Wilcox owns and occupies the fifty-acre farm leased from the Bleckers over one hundred years ago. A peculiar feature of this family was that the parents and the ten children were all Free Will Baptists; that of seven daughters six married Baptists and the seventh married a Universalist.

About the year 1797 Samuel Houtt, a Low Dutchman from Berks county, Pennsylvania, settled in Newville. He was the second new comer. He brought a bright and thrifty young wife with him. They settled upon the best farming land in the valley. He, probably, in a business way was the smartest man in the settlement, and did more to advance the interests of the neighborhood than any of his neighbors. He built a saw-mill, two grist mills, fulling and carding mill, a large tannery, and last, but not least, a distillery. He was for many years the head man of the settlement in money matters. He could build mill dams and lay out courses for water power without consulting an engineer. He owned about three hundred acres of land and all of the available water privileges along either side of the Nowadaga creek belonged to him, and for over fifty years they were utilized for the benefit of the owner and the general public. But time brings old age, and "Uncle Sam," as the men and boys all called him, was in due time gathered to his fathers. A favorite tonic and laxative of the old man was a lump of aloes

as large as a walnut and a glass of home-made whiskey. Seated in his arm chair under the porch of his, the grandest house in the Nowadaga valley, located so that he could see about all that was going on in the village that he had almost entirely built up; he seemed the picture of contentment. Like a'l the Low Dutchmen and some of the High Dutchmen, "Uncle Sam" was quite willing that his cheery little wife should do full one-half of the outdoor work and all the indoor work beside. The idea that women were made for ornament had never suggested itself to him.

Of all the mills and shops that once made music in Newville, the grist and sawmills alone remain. The coopers, cabinet makers, tanners, tailors, harness makers and shoe makers, have passed to the other side and none came to take their places. A small country store supplies the wants of the people for the time being, and Little Falls is but an hour's drive away. Among the German farmers who settled upon leased land in the western part of the town, the Bellinger family were rather more prominent than many others. Captain Daniel Bellinger, noted for his conservative Democracy, and the uncommon faculty of making money from the poorest tract of land in Danube, is a worthy example. Nature and cultivation had advanced him a few grades above his German neighbors. He came straight down from the Revolutionary struggle without any of the faults or follies of modern times, and was what some people call a gentleman of the old school. He represented the second district of Herkimer county in the legislature in 1840. Captain Bellinger was the pioneer cheese manufacturer of Danube. The exact date when he commenced the business cannot be ascertained. Danube, like all of the country towns of Herkimer county, is gradually lessening in population. In 1855, the inhabitants numbered about 1,800; at the present date they number less than 1,200. Ezra Holmes, Benjamin Klock, John Dyslin, Jeremiah Landt, James H. Mattison,

Jaoob Guiwits, Ralph Simms, Levi Ackerman and Dw. C. Jones, were old-time merchants at Newville, and William Kretsinger was a merchant at the Indian Castle. The Doctors Holmes, father and son, at the Indian Castle and the Doctors Abraham Snyder and his son Horace at Newville, ministered to the physical wants of the people for many years. They traveled, at an early date, on horseback with their saddlebags behind them. A visit to a patient a few miles distant, generally took the better part of the day. The doctor and his horse were regaled with the best that the house and the stable could afford. The lancet and the calomel bottle were duly brought forth, and if the patient had a good hardy constitution he or she, as the case might be, generally recovered. Times and methods have changed; slowly but surely the sugar pills, the palatable little tablets and the quick come and go, have taken the place of "the old style."

Much of the history of Danube has long since become public property. B. J. Lossing, J. R. Simms, N. S. Benton, and others of lesser note, have gathered and garnered the most important events connected with its early history.

In educational matters the early German settlers were not as far advanced as their neighbors of New England descent, and even at this late day the Mohawk Dutchman takes more pride in a well-kept and well-stocked farm and dairy than he does in the country school house.

In matters political, Danube had invariably been true to Democracy, until the advent of the Republican party, and even now the name of "Democrat," when attached to some popular candidate at election time, will cause some of the elder members in each community to return for a brief season to their early love. Within the past seventy years Danube has furnished but four members to the assembly. Twice has the county clerk been selected from that town, and our present honored county judge hails Danube as his birth place. Much that is commendable can be written and

spoken of both her early sons and daughters; of the hardships and trials they endured, of how they strove early and late indoors and out to build up homes for themselves and their children. Lightly will we tread over their last resting places, and day by day we will bless the Good Father who gave to us the brave and true fathers and mothers of Danube's early days.

FORT HERKIMER.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society October 8, 1898.

Fort Herkimer, called by the French Fort Kouari, was built in 1756, under the direction of Sir William Johnson, for defense against the French, and at that time it was the most important fortification for the defense of the frontier settlements, as Fort Stanwix was not built by General Stanwix until 1758. Some time before 1756 John Jost Herkimer built a stone mansion a few rods south of the Mohawk river and a short distance west of the stone church at the present settlement called Fort Herkimer, and the stone church was not then fully completed. The mansion and the church and some other buildings were included within the stockade of the fort. Except on the river side the fort was surrounded by a ditch six feet deep and seven feet wide, and upon the inside bank of the ditch and upon the river bank the palisades were placed. Behind the palisades there was a parapet of earth, so that the soldiers inside could fire over the palisades, and at the four corners there were bastions. The stone mansion had walls nearly two feet thick, and was two stories high, with a basement, and it had port holes in each story and in the basement so arranged as to give opportunity for cross firing.

The fort was not called upon to render any service until the Fall of 1757, when the French and Indians made their

attack upon the German Flatts, on the north side of the river. At that time the settlers who escaped death or captivity, to the number of about one hundred, fled across the river to the fort. The fort then contained about one hundred and fifty soldiers and at least two hundred of the settlers, and a garrison remained in the fort during the remainder of the war, generally under the command of Nicholas Herkimer, who was commissioned a lieutenant in the militia January 5, 1758. During that war the fort was the place of refuge for the people residing on both sides of the Mohawk river within the present limits of this county, and they had frequent occasion to flee thither. In the spring of 1758 the French and Indians attacked the settlement on the south side of the river and killed thirty of the inhabitants. They were finally driven off by soldiers from the fort, under the command of Lieutenant Herkimer, and about fifteen of their number were killed or wounded.

The capture of Fort Frontenac, now Kingston in Canada, in the same year, and of Quebec the following year by the soldiers led by the heroic Wolf, followed by a general pacification of the Indian tribes, secured to the Palatine settlements on both sides of the river the blessings of peace; and Fort Herkimer, no

longer needed as a place of refuge, was suffered to go to decay until 1776 when Gen. Schuyler directed its restoration by Col. Dayton. During the revolutionary war it was the place of refuge for the people who lived on the south side of the Mohawk river, and numerous sad tragedies of Indian and tory massacres took place in its vicinity, many of which are related in our local histories.

It was at Fort Herkimer in 1775, during the opening scenes of the revolutionary war, that the first liberty pole in the Mohawk valley was erected, which was cut down by the Tory Sheriff White, who came from Johnstown with a body of militia for that purpose.

In 1772, Gov. Tryon went to Fort Herkimer and there, with Sir William Johnson, reviewed a regiment of militia composed of the Palatines living on the south side of the river in the vicinity of the fort. It was to Fort Herkimer that General Herkimer and Captain Seeber and some of the other soldiers wounded in the Oriskany battle were carried in boats down the river. After a brief rest Gen. Herkimer was carried to his home in the present town of Danube, where his leg was amputated and he died. Captain Seeber's leg was amputated at Fort Herkimer and there he bled to death.

In January, 1783, General Washington conceived the project of capturing the British fort at Oswego, and selected Col. Willett to command the troops detailed for that purpose. He assembled his troops at Fort Herkimer on the 7th day of February and on the 8th started up the river for their destination. The expedition failed in consequence of the cold and the deep snow and other unforeseen accidents, and Col. Willett with his forces returned to find that preliminary articles of peace had been signed between the two countries on the 20th of January.

In April 1783, about two months after Col. Willett's attempt to surprise the fort at Oswego, an express arrived at Fort Plain from General Washington with a command that an officer be sent to Oswego to announce to the British

commander there the cessation of hostilities and impending peace. Captain Thomson was selected for that duty, and he started with four companions and a pack horse which he left at Fort Herkimer. At the fort, eight days rations for the party were put into their knapsacks, and one short musket was concealed in a blanket, with which to kill game if by any means their provisions failed. Captain Thomson reached his destination in safety, and he was the first to carry the news of the treaty to the fort at Oswego. In the summer of the same year, General Washington being at Newburg, the headquarters of his army, conceived the plan of a tour with Governor George Clinton and other officers, through the Mohawk valley and the northern part of the state to visit the frontier posts and the places which had been the theatre of important transactions during the war. He went as far north as Crown Point, and as far west at Fort Schuyler. He established a magazine of supplies at Fort Herkimer for the western garrisons, sufficient for five hundred men for ten months. Col. Willett was in command there at that time. The visit of General Washington with his retinue was a very interesting incident in the history of the fort, and many stories were told about it in the Mohawk valley for many years afterwards. Every place touched by the revered father of our country on this journey was hallowed in the minds of the people.

In 1785, the Tuscaroras and the Oneidas met at the fort and ceded to New York all the territory lying between the Chenango and Unadilla Rivers.

The old stone mansion constituting the most important feature of Fort Herkimer remained until the enlargement of the Erie Canal about 1839 when it was taken down, and some of the stone were used in building a canal lock near by, and the bed of the canal as then enlarged covers the site where the mansion stood.

Many years ago I was told of an interesting incident which occurred in this fort about 1778. The great grand-

father and great grandmother by the name of Nellis of Mrs. Michael Foley of our village were married, and the people in the fort were engaged in celebrating the nuptials, in the hilarious and uproarious way customary in those and later times in this region, with horns, tin pans and firing guns, a genuine charivari. While this was going on a party of Indians having learned that there were few soldiers there came to surprise the fort, and hearing the noise and uproar in the fort, they concluded that it had been re-

inforced and, fearing a sortie, they beat a hasty retreat and fled in terror to the woods. This is the only case that has come to my knowledge where a charivari served a good purpose.

I have thus given a brief story of the principal events connected with this fort. It furnished shelter during the French and Revolutionary wars to the brave and hardy ancestors of many persons now living in this vicinity and we should not willingly let it pass into oblivion.

THE FEETER FAMILY.

AN ADDRESS BY JOHN B. KOETTERITZ, OF LITTLE FALLS,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, October 8, 1898.

Of equal importance as the Puritan were to New England, as the Huguenots were to several of the Atlantic states and the Quakers to Pennsylvania, were the Palatines and their early successors to parts of the Colony and State of New York. Is it not strange that many of the best works on American history hardly mention the early German immigrations? The influence of the German pioneers as a factor in the civilization of parts of this great country and especially of the beautiful Mohawk Valley, is passed over, and the present generation knows little of their early struggles, of the hardships and privations they had to suffer, and the many patriotic services which they rendered.

It is our aim to reclaim from oblivion the early history of this advance guard of white men's supremacy and to collect all such data and traditions which can still be ascertained. Time has effaced too many of them.

Sometime last winter a member of the Feeter family asked me about the correct German spelling of the family name. Making some investigations and corresponding with some members of the family, I became interested in the history of it, pursued it far as I could and I present to you now what I have been able to ascertain by diligent research. The name of the family was originally "Vet-

ter" and I shall use this name in this paper until the actual change of the name occurs.

The Vetter family can be traced to one Lucas Vetter, whose death occurred in the year 1483 near Derdingen, in the present Kingdom of Wuerttemberg, in the southwestern part of Germany. He evidently was the father of many children, nearly all of whom had descendants and the name Vetter (meaning cousin) appears not only frequently in his native land, but can be found in many parts of the present German Empire. Many men of note and more than local fame trace their origin to this Lucas Vetter. The late prime minister of Wuerttemberg, von Vetter, several well known artists, and the general of that name, famous during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, belong to the same family. The original Lucas Vetter was a blacksmith and free holder. It was the custom in families to name the oldest son after the father and he would generally follow the trade of his father. So we find that one Lucas Vetter, blacksmith, would succeed the other; starting with the Roman Catholic church records, in which we find the first one of that name, we have to continue our searches after the end of the 16th Century in the Lutheran church books. Numerous

Vetters appear as "births" upon those ledgers of our existence and again they disappear as "deaths," but through all this tangle of records runs steadily the name of the oldest son of the oldest branch—the Lucas Vetter, blacksmith and freeholder. Counting the Lucas Vetter, who dies in 1483 as the first, we find that Lucas Vetter the 8th was born in the year 1696, on November 23rd, and was married in 1722 to Katharina Lenninger (name is indistinct in the original record). It is probable that he removed from his home in or near Derdingen to Schoenaich because we find the subsequent entries relating to this branch of the family in the records of the Lutheran church at Schoenaich, Kingdom of Wuertemberg. His oldest son, was Lucas Vetter the emigrant. It is certain that he had at least one brother, John and possibly another John Jost or Hanjost. Lucas Vetter the 8th, had one brother, William, who served all during the wars of that period under the great chieftan, Prince Eugene of Savoy.

A prominent branch of this Vetter family in Germany descends from him and I am to that branch indebted for great assistance in my research.

Lucas Vetter the 8th died prior to 1753. In the Lutheran Church Register of Schoenaich we find under date of November 8th, 1753, the following entry: "Married, Lucas Vetter, blacksmith, son of the late Lucas Vetter freeholder and blacksmith, and Agnes, daughter of the late freeholder and farmer Jacob Wacker. Text of my sermon, Psalms 128:5-6.

"The Lord shall bless thee out of Zion; and thou shalt see the good of Jerusalem all the days of thy life."

"Yea, thou shalt see thy childrens' children, and peace upon Israel."

There is something prophetic in those verses, as if the new groom then contemplated the long trip to America. During the summer of 1754 he and his young bride left their native land and sailed on the good ship Neptune for the new world. On board of ship, as shown by the following certificate, a daughter was born:

"September 19, 1754, was born on the

high seas, in ship Neptune, of Christian and honorable parents, Anna Catharina, her father was Lucas Vetter, her mother Agnes (born) Wacker, from Schoenaich in the county of Wuertemberg. The witnesses to her baptism were Michael Nestle, blacksmith and his wife Dorothea. "May the Lord grant that this child may remain faithful to her God and its Baptismal Covenants. Extract from Church Register, S. W. Best, Chaplain of the Vessel."

While many of the emigrants became "white slaves" for their passage money, Lucas Vetter must have been blessed with the goods and riches of this world, as we find that within the first year of residence in this country he purchased two farms. He settled to the north of Stone Arabia and probably devoted his time to farming and followed his trade which is always one of the most useful ones but which was one of great importance in a new country. It is stated that he became at an early time well acquainted with Sir William Johnson. By Chapter 1089 of the Colonial Laws, passed on July 3rd, 1759, he became a naturalized citizen. In 1761 he appears in records as one of the original applicants for the Royal Grant and in 1768 he became one of the three principal patentees of the Byrne Patent in Schoharie County. (See land papers, office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y.

From the various records it appears that in 1762 one Johannis and Johannis Yost Weeder or Vetter lived near Lucas. Tradition in the family here says that all Feeters descended from Lucas, the immigrant. It is more than probable that John came to this country and had descendants, who have changed their name to Veeder or Vedder and mistakenly are considered as part of the well known Holland Dutch family of that name. John Jost or Hanjost came over here, but, according to tradition preserved in the German branch, returned soon to his native country. John Jost's oldest son, Lucas, born in 1758, died in 1800 in Germany and one of his sons died in the war of Napoleon against

Russia in 1812 and a grandson died only last year at Schœnaich. The trade of "smith" is still followed by that branch of the family which is now only represented by one male descendent, Lucas Vetter, living at Musberg, Germany.

From the records of the Stone Arabia Lutheran church we have the following about the family of Lucas, the immigrant: Wilhelm, his oldest son, was born January 5th, 1756. Consequently Lucas, the other son must have been younger than William. The records do not state when he was born.

Prior to about 1765, Agnes Vetter must have died. In 1765 Lucas Vetter married again and his second wife was Maria Eva, the daughter of Captain Peter and Lena Serviss. By this intermarriage with the Serviss family, which was related to the first wife of Sir William Johnson, Lucas Vetter became still more closely attached to the Johnsons.

In 1767 a daughter was born, named Anna, and it is possible that another son was the offspring of this marriage. I have not been able to ascertain what became of the two girls, and whether or not such a son existed and reached manhood, is based upon very faint tradition in the family. Consequently we can follow with certainty only the two sons, Wilhelm and Lucas. The elder Lucas, bound by many ties to the Johnson family and influenced by a Tory wife, followed the fortunes of Sir John and removed in 1780 to Montreal where he died in about 1785. His son Lucas, had grown up at Johnson Hall as a favorite of the old baronet and a playmate of the younger members of Sir William's household and as soon as hostilities began, he enlisted in the Johnson Green's and fought on the side of the British during the whole of the war. After the revolution he settled on bounty lands near Matilda, Canada, which lands are still in possession of the family. He died in 1842 leaving many descendants living in many parts of Canada and the United States, respected and useful citizens of their respective communities. This branch of the family spells the name "Feeder."

Wilhelm, the other son, and the ancestor of all the United States branch of that family, was brought up on the home farm and enjoyed such education as the Stone Arabia schools afforded. The great majority of the citizens of that vicinity were like the Vettters, of sturdy German stock and many of them descendants of Palatine forefathers. They objected to the feudal manor which Sir Wilhelm tried to create, they feared and they detested especially the foppish and arrogant manners of Sir John and his set. When the storm between the mother country and the colonies began to rise, there were no more patriotic and loyal Americans in the Colony than the Germans in Stone Arabia. With them Wilhelm had grown up and likely as a boy had listened to their discussions and complaints. Possibly home life with a Tory stepmother had separated him early from home influences and prejudiced his father against the boy who associated with the so-called rebels.

In 1776 the Vetter family lived at Johnstown village and removed the same year to where now the city of Amsterdam is. William's affiliation did not suit the rest of the family and he left home. The tradition among his descendants is that he alone of the family embraced the cause of the colony and that finally he alone remained in the United States. The Canadian branch believes that only the father and mother and the son Lucas went to Canada; that William and the rest of the children remained here. I have not been able to ascertain which story is true.

In the latter days of his life, Mr. Feeter dictated to one George Heller, a school teacher, a short narrative of his experiences during the revolution, which has since been arranged by Jacob W. Feeter, Esq., of New York, his grandson, and from which I quote freely and partly verbatim: During the spring of 1776 William enlisted in the company of Captain Emmanuel De Graff at Amsterdam, Tyron county and took part in scouting exhibitions to Johnstown, Caughnawaga and the Sacondaga River

In June 1777, he was drafted into the militia and joined the company commanded by Captain Abraham Yates, which went up to Fort Stanwix and from there to the Wood Creek, to obstruct the passage of that river by felling trees across. From there he returned to Amsterdam. His parents and brother were enraged at him for taking up arms against the king and he was ordered to leave his home forever, an outcast. He left Amsterdam and went to his former home at Stone Arabia, staying sometimes at the old homestead, but more often at the home of the patriotic Gray family living in his neighborhood. At Stone Arabia he enlisted in the company of Captain Suffrenus Cook in Col. Klock's regiment. Whether or not he took part in the battle of Oriskany is uncertain, but he mentions in his memoirs that he took part in numerous scouting expeditions of that time. In the spring of 1778 he was drafted for three months and went with Captain Samuel Gray's company to Unadilla to look for Tories and Indians. When the company reached Fort Herkimer, William was sent with an Indian prisoner back to Stone Arabia. After he returned from there, the fort was attacked by Indians and Tories. The company did not go to Unadilla, but was finally ordered to the Geisenberg near Fort Plain, in the present locality known as Dutch Town, and remained there until the massacre of Cherry Valley, to which place they marched after that affair with the rest of the regiment. Feeter and another man were sent ahead as scouts to locate the enemy. The militia buried the dead and returned to the Geisenberg.

An Indian band had made five prisoners at Stone Arabia and the company to which Feeter belonged was sent in pursuit, but the redskins escaped.

In February, 1779, Feeter enlisted again in Samuel Gray's company which was to convey and protect 30 batteaus of provisions and ammunition from Schenectady to Fort Stanwix. The opening of the river did not occur until April and the company was furloughed,

While on furlough, Feeter went with Captain Gray and others in pursuit of some Indians to Tillaborough. The transports arrived at Fort Stanwix on April 18th, 1779, and Colonel Van Schaick of the Continental Army took his command and the boating party to Fort Brainerd on Oneida Lake, from whence he set out to destroy Onondaga Castle, leaving the boatmen and convoy as a rear guard. The whole party returned to Fort Stanwix on April 25th, after complete destruction of the Indian villages. The Gray company returned with the boats and 30 Indian prisoners to Schenectady. Twice more that spring they brought such transports to Fort Stanwix. In June, 1779, the whole of Captain Gray's company volunteered to join the division of General James Clinton and took part in Sullivan's famous campaign. History records the valient services of the boatmen who moved this big body of troops from Cooperstown down to Toga and Wyoming and during this campaign carried provisions, ammunition, prisoners and the wounded. The company finally reached Easton, Pennsylvania and from there marched home to Stone Arabia which they reached in November, 1779. During the battle of Newton, so family tradition says, the two brothers met, Lucas being there as a soldier in the Johnson Green's. Verily not the only instance during the revolution where brother met brother face to face as foes.

Again, in January, 1780, Feeter enlisted in Gray's company and all summer they were busy navigating the river to Fort Stanwix, Fort Schuyler, Fort Dayton, Fort Herkimer and Fort Plain. On one of their trips they were warned by friendly Indians that Brant with a large force laid in ambush for them above Fort Schuyler, and they quickly sent for reinforcements. The company "being soldiers and sailors too," to quote Kipling, had only a small fighting force. General VanRenselaer with some quickly collected militia came to their assistance and convoyed the party safely to Fort Stanwix. During October, 1780, William spent a furlough at Stone

Arabia, and while there the battle of Stone Arabia took place. He joined immediately the pursuing party and went with them to Fort Herkimer. Until ice stopped navigation he continued in the boating service. Early in 1781 he enlisted in the Levies commanded by Marinus Willett and took part in many scouting parties. In July of that year, he helped in the surprise and pursuit of Jacob Klock, a former militia officer who had turned Tory. Feeter was one of the scouts; they routed Klock's party completely, captured arms and one scalp which Andrew Gray took with him to Stone Arabia.

Another Tory party attacked early in September the fortified house of Jacob Timmerman in St. Johnsville. A troop of levies among which Feeter was, followed the Tories to the northern part of the Jerseyfield, but they escaped.

It would be too lengthy to enumerate all the different scouting parties of which Feeter was a member. Willett kept his soldiers constantly moving and the service was very hard, long marches, lack of shelter and proper food and many false alarms proved great hardships to the troops. Feeter was variously stationed at Fort Plain, Fort Plank and Fort Herkimer during the years 1781 and 1782.

In October 1782 a large force composed of British troops, Indians and Tories under Butler and Ross appeared in the Mohawk Valley. Feeter and two young men started for Stone Arabia and travelled 12 miles to join Willett at Anthony's Nose on the Mohawk river. He moved towards Caughnawaga along the south side of the river, when he was informed that the enemy was marching towards Johnstown by way of Tribes Hill. Willett sent from Caughnawaga William Feeter and William Wallace as scouts to find the enemy, which they located at Johnstown near Johnson Hall. Wallace returned and Feeter stayed at the jail with Captain Liddle and his guard of six men. When Willett arrived in advance of his troops, Feeter guided him within sight of the British and he and Captain Liddle observed the enemy until

Major Finck arrived with succor. Finck and Feeter were in advance of the troops who pursued the British until they were checked by superior numbers and until Finck gave orders to retreat, which was done. Soon Col. Willett came up with some militia and drove the enemy from the field. Many of Feeter's friends and neighbors from Stone Arabia had been wounded and he was ordered to proceed there to bring help and assistance for the wounded. Without rest or food he started for that place and returned early next morning, but to his regret, too late to join in the pursuit. Before the end of the war many Tories had returned and occupied their old homes again. This enraged the loyal party and parties similar to the White Caps of today would visit nights the homes of the Tories and flog them within an inch of their lives. Proceedings were begun against some of the Whigs and a number were cast into jail, but liberated soon afterwards by their friends under the leadership of Wilhelm Feeter who opened the jail with bars and sledges. That was the end of it.

With the ending of the war, Feeter returned to peaceful pursuits. All the lands owned by his father had been confiscated by the state under the acts of attainder, and he had no property of his own. He had to make a hard fight for the recovery of his own share. He sold soon after the war all his interests in Stone Arabia and elsewhere and purchased his homestead farm near Little Falls, northwest of the Revolutionary Fort Riemensnyder on Glen's Purchase. It is the farm now in possession of the Goodale family, pleasantly located and being fine dairy land. Of course only a small part of the land had been cultivated before the revolution and the young soldier farmer had to clear the forest and break the virgin soil.

Early in 1762 he married Elizabeth Bellinger, daughter of Philip or "Lips" Bellinger, born March 23d, 1765, who for 49 years was his loving wife and helpmate. Twelve children were born to them, five sons and seven daughters: Adam, Eva, wife of Jacob Scott, Wil-

liam, George Henry, Elizabeth, wife of Daniel Timmerman, Catharine, (Katy) wife of Peter Stauring, Nancy, wife of William Himes, Dorothea (Dolly) wife of Abram Eysaman, Delia, wife of Jacob Small, Johannes (John) Feeter and Peter Feeter. Nine of these had numerous children and all his descendants number nearly one thousand.

His new home was located in a German neighborhood, all their friends were descendants of the early emigrants and there at the Riemensnyderbush, around that old Lutheran church, and the old burying ground, existed in those early days a larger settlement than at the present City of Little Falls. William Feeter soon occupied a leading position, his earthly goods increased from year to year and he became the owner of many good and broad acres of land and when his children started in life he had given them a good start for the future.

Feeter was appointed Justice of the Peace in 1791 and held that position for many years. Soon after the war he joined the militia and rose gradually to the rank of Colonel of the Harkimer Regiment of Infantry (the later 27th) which he commanded until and during the beginning of the second war with Great Britain.

Colonel Feeter was not only prosperous but public-spirited and contributed liberally to all worthy enterprises. He was one of the original contributors to the Octagon church at Little Falls; he continued his association with the Stone Arabia church during his life and was the main support of of his own, the Yellow church, near his home. One of his descendants, who remembers him well, describes him as a man not above medium size, dark hair and complexion, quick in motion, and quick of temper but kind of heart. He loved sociability and liked to enjoy the good things of life in wise moderation. His greatest enjoyment seemed to be the social gatherings on German holidays, Easter, Christmas and New Years, and, in the fall, a harvest festival for all his numerous family, help and neighbors and at each time he offered plenty of good cheer and

a hearty welcome. One of his granddaughters still living described the celebration of a New Year's evening to me. The large and commodious house was thrown open, fires blazed in all the fire places, candles lighted the rooms, the tables were set in nearly every room of the house and turkeys, chickens, roast pigs, hams and numerous "Mohawk Dutch" dishes loaded the tables and in the middle of each stood a steaming bowl of punch. After the meal was disposed of, the Colonel arose and sang a short German hymn and said a short prayer of thanks. Then he would wish them all a happy New Year, usually adding for each a separate joke which set all in the best of humor. Later on the tables would be cleared away and the dancing began. Abram Eysaman and Peter Stauring, two of his sons-in-law would play the fiddle and everybody, old and young, would join the fun. In the intervals, the Colonel, who was a fine singer, would sing to their great delight patriotic and German folk love songs and often he would call on Katty Stauring and Dolly Eysaman and have them perform some so'o-dances as they were graceful and skilled dancers. He became a communicant of the Lutheran church on November 1st, 1778 at Stone Arabia. He was a regular attendant at church and insisted that all his family and help joined him which was not always agreeable to the younger set on account of the lengthy sermons.

In politics he was always a Federalist. There was no man more highly respected in the community than the colonel and no father more beloved than he and it is not the idle word of a chronicler that with his death which occurred in 1844, in his 89th year, there passed away one of the sterling characters of his time,

It would extend this paper too far if I attempted to mention many of his numerous offspring. There was George Henry, well known as an attorney, a public and after-dinner speaker, Johannis, the last to depart of all, Adam, a soldier of 1812, the oldest son and father of James and grandfather of

James D. Feeter, who is now the oldest male descendant of the oldest branch of all the Feeters and Feaders in North America and well known to you.

A number of his descendants enlisted during the present war and several fought during the War of the rebellion in the Union army. While his scions have all reason to be proud of their ancestor, the Old Revolutionary soldier, the patriotic citizen of the new republic has equal right to be proud of his offspring.

THE MOHAWK VALLEY AND THE PALATINES.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, November 12, 1898.

The Palatines who came from the Palatinate in Germany in the early part of the eighteenth century had before their exodus been subjected to great suffering and misery for many years. Their country had been many times devastated by religious and dynastic wars. Their houses and villages had repeatedly been given to the torch and their personal property plundered or destroyed. In an age when religious toleration was little practiced, there were wars between Lutheranism and Calvinism, between Protestantism and Romanism, and with the French. Their lives became intolerable there, and in large numbers they emigrated to escape their wretched condition. When they landed in England, they were miserably poor, and they became objects of sympathy and charity. Most of them were shipped to this country, reaching here the poorest and most miserable emigrants that ever landed in any part of our territory. A large number of them were settled on land now embraced within the counties of Columbia and Ulster. There they were oppressed, cheated and wronged; and after toiling several years they were unable much to improve their condition. Then a large number of them removed to Schoharie county; and after remaining there several years, and again suffering wrongs, and being un-

able to adjust their land titles satisfactorily, a portion of them came to the Mohawk valley here upon land covered by the Burnetsfield patent. They reached here about the year 1723 and were again obliged to commence the struggle for existence anew. They were ignorant, and had little property of any kind. But here they could for the first time get, what they had at all times longed for since their arrival in America, good title to their land; and they went to work with a will to improve their condition. They were hardy, industrious, pious and brave, and the many perils and trials to which they had been subjected in Germany and in this country had in some measure made them heroic. Here they cleared the forests and lived in peace with the Indians, their only neighbors; and by the year 1757 they had become prosperous, comfortable and comparatively rich. In that year, dire misfortune again overtook them. Their settlements here and in this vicinity were ravaged by the French and Indians in what is called the French war, and nearly all their property, but their land, was destroyed; and they were again reduced to poverty. After the termination of that war, they made a new start and with great industry and courage cultivated their lands and again acquired comfortable homes and consid-

erable property. Then came the Revolutionary war, and during that war their settlements were several times raided by Tories and Indians and their homes burned and property carried off or destroyed; and they were again reduced to poverty. So it may be truthfully said that no people ever suffered more from the ravages of war, and from savage and cruel men than the Palatines and their descendents, during the hundred years preceeding the close of the Revolutionary war. At the end of that war, and as one of its sad results, there were in the Mohawk valley three thousand orphans and three hundred widows. The settlers had poor homes, no churches, no school houses, no taverns, and little to make life comfortable. A traveler through the valley at that time would have found little of interest but fertile land occupied by a poor, ignorant, industrious, hardy race of men and women, with mental and physical characteristics which gave promise of what they subsequently achieved.

I have given this brief sketch of the Palatines and their immediate descendents for the purpose of introducing the substance of two narratives written by two men of great distinction who travelled through the Mohawk valley soon after the Revolutionary war. These narratives are not now easily accessible, and I have thought it best to place the substance of them before this society.

Elkanah Watson was born in Massachusetts in 1758 and died at Port Kent on Lake Champlain in 1842. At the age of 15, he was apprenticed to John Brown, who was extensively engaged in mercantile business at Providence, R. I., and who subsequently became the patentee of John Brown's tract in the northern part of the county. Such was his ability and the confidence Mr. Brown had in him that, when he was but 19 years old, in 1777, he sent him to Charlston and other places in the south with over \$50,000 to invest in cargoes of southern products for shipment to Europe. Two years afterward, when he was but twenty-one years of age, with Mr. Brown and others as partners, he opened a com-

mercial house at Nantes in France where he carried on a large and profitable business for several years, returning to this country in 1784.

He was on intimate terms with George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and many others of the prominent men of the Revolutionary period. He traveled extensively in Europe and this country and he was a sagacious and careful student of the facts which came under his observation; and his diary and memoirs, a most interesting volume, were published by his son after his death. He first passed up and down the Mohawk valley in 1788, and the following is the substance of what he says of the valley. He speaks of it as "A rich region under high cultivation and adorned with luxurious clover pastures. This lovely valley was almost on a level with the river and was bounded on the north by a lofty range of hills whose cliffs at times seemed impending over him. The fields were separated by gates only, with no fences on the roadside. The beauty of the country, the majestic appearance of the adjacent mountains, the state of advanced agriculture exhibited in a long succession of excellent farms, and the rich fragrancly of the air redolent with the perfume of the clover, all combined to present a scene which he was not prepared to witness on the banks of the Mohawk.

The valley was subjected to inundations which not unfrequently wasted the labors of a season, and much depreciated the apparrant value of these estates. Traveling the whole day through this land flowing with milk and honey, he was not only surprised, but seriously distressed at the total absence of all accommodations for the relief and comfort of the traveler."

"The country known as the German Flatts had long been inhabited, and was densely occupied by a German population. This people had suffered severely during the war of independence from the ravages of the Tories and Indians, and had been nearly extirpated. Impressive vestiges of these events were exhibited throughout the entire district.

Their safety was only secured by the erection of numerous block houses which were constructed upon commanding positions, and often mounted with cannon. Many of these structures were yet standing and were seen in every direction. The sufferings and sacrifices of this population have few parallels in the atrocities of civil war. He entered no family in which he did not hear thrilling recitals of the massacre of some branch of it by ferocious barbarians who carried fire and the sword through their settlement, or of some appalling scene of danger and suffering connected with its own history. This entire people were for many years exposed to constant alarm and agitation without any knowledge or suspicion of the immediate approach of their ruthless foe. Settlements were burst upon and devastated in one swoop in blood and flames, while the same tragic scene was often renewed the succeeding night by the same bands in some remote and equally unsuspecting community."

He says he reached a miserable log tavern in the present town of Schuyler and that from that place he began to travel in the wilderness bordering upon the Indian Territory; that the road was almost impassable, and he was upwards of three hours in going about six miles to the Mohawk river opposite the present site of Utica, and that there he forded the river, both shores being alive with savages. As there was no tavern and there were only a few scattered houses, he proceeded to an old German log house on the margin of the river and, not having had anything to eat for twenty-four hours, he implored for something to eat. At length, after much difficulty, he prevailed on an old native German woman to spare him two ears of green corn and some salt.

At Fort Schuyler, called by him Fort Stanwix, there was a treaty in progress with the Six Nations for the cession of their territory lying west of Fort Stanwix. Gov. Clinton and eight other commissioners, and a large number of Indians, male and female, were there; and the result was that the Indian title to

eight million acres of land was extinguished. He thought the site of Fort Stanwix would become the emporium of commerce between Albany and the vast western world.

He again passed through the valley in 1791; and speaking of the Germans and Dutch in the Mohawk valley at that time, he said: "Thus far the German and Dutch farmers have been in a manner remiss in cultivating the first rudiments of literature, while the descendants of the English in New England have cherished it as a primary duty. Hence the characteristics are very different. When literature shall begin to shed its benign rays over this benighted race, then and not till then, the Germans and Dutch and the Yankees will dismiss all local, illiberal prejudices and distinctions; and in twenty or thirty years, the shades of discordance will be hardly perceptible."

He more than other men, at that early day, foresaw the importance and feasibility of canal navigation connecting the lakes of the west with the Hudson river, and he says: "I am induced to believe, should the western canals ever be made, and the Mohawk valley in one sense become a continuation of the Hudson river by means of canals and locks, that it will most clearly obviate the necessity of sending produce to market in winter by sleighs. On the contrary, it would be stored upon the margin of the Mohawk in winter, and be sent in the summer months in bateaux to be unloaded aboard vessels in the Hudson."

He says it was the most thickly settled on the south side of the river, and that going up the river from Fort Herkimer the bateaux were taken up stream against the current, each boat being manned by three men, two in the bow and one in the stern to steer; that these boatmen occasionally rowed in still water, setting with short poles at the rapids with surprising dexterity; that the average progress was three miles per hour, and the work was extremely laborious and fatiguing; that at night they encamped in a log hut on the margin of the river about ten miles east of Utica; that Utica

and Fort Stanwix were rivals as a site for a town for the western trade; but that he thought Fort Stanwix had the advantage and was destined to become a great city. He states that the first mail wagon and public conveyance between Schenectady and Albany was started in 1791 and that it was doubted whether it would pay to run it once a week.

He mentions the fact that oxen were first introduced into the Mohawk valley by New Englanders. As is seen from his narrative, there were no fences along the sides of highways. But the division lines of farms extended across the highways with gates to be opened and shut by travelers. He also mentions a matter of interest about the battle of Oriskany. He was shown over the battle-field in 1788 by two Germans who were in the battle; and the tree was pointed out to him against which General Herkimer was placed upon his saddle and from which he directed the battle after he was wounded; and he saw upon the battle-field bones of those who were killed in the battle. It is a well authenticated fact that the killed in that battle, Tories, Indians, British and Patriots, officers and men, were left where they fell, and were never interred. It was expected that General Arnold, who reached the battle-field about two weeks after the battle, would bury the dead. But when he reached there, the weather being hot in the month of August, the dead bodies had become so decomposed and putrid as to cause an unbearable stench; and his soldiers gave the battle-field a wide berth, leaving the bodies of friends and foes a prey to the birds and beasts; and eleven years afterwards their bones intermingled whitened the ground.

Timothy Dwight was a noted man in the revolutionary era and afterward. He was born in 1752 and died in 1817. He was a clergyman, teacher and scholar before and during the war; and he became president of Yale College in 1795, and held that position until his death. He was a grandson of Jonathen Edwards, and the ancestor of many scholarly and distinguished descendants. During his vacations while president of

Yale, he traveled in various parts of our country: and among other journeys he made one through the Mohawk valley, about 1799; and he published four volumes giving an account of his travels. I here give the substance of what he says of the Mohawk valley: "The settlements along the river are almost universally scattered plantations, almost all the inhabitants being farmers of Dutch extraction. In most of the older settlements, the houses are generally good, comfortable Dutch houses. The cultivation is moderately good also; and is pursued in exactly the same manner in which it was begun by their ancestors, and confined almost entirely to wheat, peas and grass, the latter of which, however, is always an inferior object of attention. The circumstances of the inhabitants appear to be easy and their life quiet and enterprising." He found but four churches between Schenectady and Utica: one at Caughnawaga, one at Canajoharie, one at Herkimer and one across the river at Fort Herkimer; and four villages at these places. He says, "He passed a few miserable looking school houses which plainly owed their appearance to the want, not of wealth, but of a sufficient attachment to education." and that, "An observing traveler could not fail to conclude that these people must be extensively destitute both of knowledge and morals. If the information which from respectable sources I received on the spot may be credited, low vices are unhappily prevalent among them. Fathers have not very unfrequently been seen at the gaming table with their sons, endeavoring to win money from each other, swearing at each other, charging each other with cheating and lying, and both at very late hours intoxicated."

"Among the causes which here assembled multitudes, with high pulsations of hope and pleasure, a horse race is one of the most memorable. This diversion, when least exceptionable, is a deplorable exhibition of human debasement. The gentleman here dwindles at once into a jockey, imbibes his spirit, assumes his station and, what is worse,

sinks to the level of his morality. The plain man, at the same time, becomes a mere brute, swears, curses, cheats, lies and gets drunk, extinguishing at once, virtue, reason and character. Horse racing is the box of Pandora from which more and greater mischiefs flow than any man ever counted or measured. You are not to conclude that this is the universal character of these people. The exceptions are numerous but fewer than a man of candor would expect to find.'

Speaking of the settlers on the German Flatts, he says: "Their distance from other settlements prevented them also from all those benefits of knowledge and improvements which are derived from civilized society. The settlers themselves, were extremely ignorant. Their children became, if possible, more and more ignorant; for they were destitute for a long time even of the means of a parochial education. Their own language they spoke with increasing imperfection, and the English they scarcely spoke at all. A specimen of their ignorance was communicated to me by one of their own countrymen who, in more auspicious circumstances, had risen to intelligence and respectability. He was one day attempting to convince some of them that the Congressional Stamp Act was a reasonable and useful law; and observed particularly that it required nothing to be stamped except such papers as were employed either to convey or secure property. They answered that they did not care for that; if the government stamps papers now, it would soon put stamps upon their wagons, on their horses, on their wheat, and on everything which they had. Their village on the south side of the river is composed of ordinary houses built in the Dutch manner with few windows, many doors, dark sheds over the principal doors, lean-tos behind, and awkward additions at the ends. They are of one story, and in a few instances a story and a half, and generally look like a collection of kitchens." New Hartford, in Oneida county, was settled in 1785 and he says that village surpassed all other villages west of Albany in

sprightliness, thrift and beauty. In 1799, he states, there were thirty houses where the village of Herkimer now is, chiefly Dutch buildings, and that the village was "filling up with colonies from New England."

At an early day, the travelers up and down the valley were greatly pleased with the view from the hill near Senator Miller's house in this village, and it was claimed by some of them that there was not a finer view in any part of our country. The river, the valley, the slopes on both sides, and Fall Hill in the distance, gave a prospect rarely to be found anywhere.

I cannot close this article without taking exception to some of the remarks of Dr. Dwight. He was a typical New England Puritan; and the ways and manners of our German ancestors here evidently did not please him. I do not believe they were quite as ignorant as he described them. And yet they were undoubtedly ignorant. They had had but few schools and they poor. There were no books except the bible and some devotional books. There was no newspaper west of Albany until 1802; and that was published here first in that year. But they had good sense adequate to their humble condition and simple employments. I am sure that their piety and morals were substantially as good, measured by any proper standard, as the New England type of the same period. He was undoubtedly misinformed by the Yankees between whom and the Germans there was not at that day mutual respect and cordial fellowship; and what he regarded as types were mere sporadic cases of exceptional character. The Mohawk Germans were not Puritans, and they certainly did not believe that their religion ought to take the sunshine out of their lives. They were robust men, fond of robust sports. They feared God and read their bibles, were generally honest, good neighbors, thrifty and industrious, and their virtues, I believe, were as little shaded with vices as those of any body of people at that time, anywhere in this country

or England. If Dr. Dwight were here I would certainly teach him a lesson of charity by reading to him some things written about his Puritan neighbors, showing them to have had human frailties as great as those he attributed to the Palatines and Dutch of the Mohawk valley. John Dunton, a bookseller, in his "Letters from New England," about 1686, says that incontinence, among the unmarried was very common in Massachusetts, and that hardly a court day passed but some were convicted and punished by fine and whipping for that offence; and Rev. Dr. Burnaby in his "Travels in America," describing the manners and customs in the same colony says: "For lying and cheating, they outvie Judas and all the false other cheats in hell. Nay, they make sport of it, looking upon cheating as a commendable piece of ingenuity, commending him who has the most skill to commit a piece of roguery, which in their dialect like those of our Yea and Nay friends in England, they call by the gentle name of outwitting a man and won't own it to be cheating." And John Adams in the time of the revolution, having on his way to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, met Gen. Alexander McDougal in New York, says of him in his diary: "He has none of the mean cunning which disgraces so many of my countrymen," meaning the people of Massachusetts. These authorities and others which might be cited, make it quite clear that no Puritan should cast the first stone at our Palatine and Dutch ancestors.

NEWSPAPERS OF HERKIMER COUNTY.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE W. SMITH, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, December 10, 1898.

A notable fact in the affairs of mankind is the common neglect to make a timely record of passing events. Absorbed by present concerns, men think little of the value to the future of perpetuating the memory of what goes on before them. If the founders of states that have filled a large space among nations had been careful to note the things done when they planted the germs that grew to greatness, what a light would be thrown upon the historical canvas! Much of what we call history is only myth or fable, or the conjectures of later chroniclers. Much of what is known has been preserved rather by accident than by forecast. A nation rises or it falls, and at the triumph, or the catastrophe men are so affected by the play and the pressure of imminent forces, that they often fail to trace either the outlines or the details of the passing scenes. A page of cotemporary narrative is often worth more than volumes of conjecture and speculation. Something of this occurs to one who attempts to rescue from growing oblivion the history of the newspapers of this county, only two or three generations ago.

The writer remembers the fascination felt sixty-seven years ago in perusing cast aside numbers of the old "Herkimer American," and the awe with which he listened a little later when Benjamin

Cory, then residing at Salisbury, the patriarch of our county press, related with pride and cherished memories his experience in publishing, in 1802-6, the "Herkimer Telescope," and later the "Herkimer Pelican," at Herkimer, a place that then seemed far away. Much greater things have since been less impressive. There was before me a real printer, a successor of Faust and Franklin, a veritable editor of a newspaper, two of them, coming from that land of letters where he had created that wonderful thing a newspaper. We would prize highly copies of the "Telescope" and the "Pelican," but no research could now bring to light any one of those vanished records. Some of the contents of the later "Herkimer American," printed probably in 1829, recall my earliest memory of a newspaper, especially an account of the passage of the Balkans by the Russian general, Diebitsch, in the summer of that year, in the war against Turkey—the Balkans then, as today, "a coign of vantage" in the struggle for empire in Europe, and which report by the means of communication in those times might have reached this country in the fall of that year. The writer was then young enough to inquire if our near-by Russia had any concern in that war.

The newspapers of the early years of

the 19th century were strikingly different from those we have now. Then weekly editions of a few hundred diminutive sheets, laboriously worked off by a hand lever, answered the local demand; now steam power and the lightning press give in minutes more than the work of hours by those primitive appliances, and every day scatter over the land broad sheets thick as the leaves of autumn. The contrast between the faces of the old newspapers and the metropolitan issues of the present day; between the narrow and humble tenements of the newspaper of less than a century since, and the towering printing houses from which they issue today; between the Franklin lever press and the giant machines that now cast forth newspapers in such infinite profusion, attest as strikingly as anything else how vastly steam, electricity and invention have enlarged man's power in nature and widened the sphere of his mental forces.

The political leaders of two generations ago paid special attention to the newspapers in their respective bailiwicks. The newspaper then had only a contracted field, but they gave to the politician and the statesman their widest reach and their chief means for moulding public opinion. The Federal, Democratic and Anti-Masonic journals were real organs of the party for which they spoke. When other patronage failed, the party leaders supplied the needful, when the organ collapsed they reinstated it, when the ordinary editorial was not pungent enough to meet the exigency the congressman, senator or the lawyers of the party gave a more pronounced utterance or echo of the party policy. The local press was inspired from Washington and Albany, and it was relatively more influential, and the city press less so, than now.

Up to about 1850 the local newspaper had hardly begun to cultivate its proper field and had ignored the special advantage of which it might have availed itself in giving the full local news of the country in a sphere of its own, which the city press could not overshadow. The country editor continued to print ponderous documents too great for his space, the

message in full of Presidents and Governors, party addresses put forth by their partisans in the Legislature by the broadside, speeches at large on national topics, even noted speeches in the British parliament, and more or less extensive summaries of foreign affairs, to the almost entire exclusion of matters of local interest. Fifty and sixty years ago the speeches of Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, C. W. and such foreign speeches as Sir Robert Peel's on the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, were to be found in their overburdened columns.

In 1846 the messages of President Polk and of Governor Wright, each filled some eighteen columns of the local newspaper and the country editor was bound to get them out in full, though their columns were sometimes two weeks in labor in accomplishing the task. With this space devoted to such documents, only a few lines, sometimes nothing, was given to the recording of the local affairs and occurrences which are now looked for, and which at this day present the chief attractions of the country newspaper. The editors of former days felt it a duty to write long editorials on national affairs and these, next to massive political documents, they no doubt regarded as the most valuable features of their journals. They might be surprised, were they to come back, to find these essays wholly obsolete and forgotten, while such meagre annals as they gave of town and county, traces of personal history, and family names, are eagerly read, that advertisements of mills, stores, shops and of every other business, even the old time announcements of wives deserting the bed and board of their lords, and of the flight of truant slaves and apprentices,—that all those speaking vestiges of the common life, still had the lasting interest that makes other generations pore with pleased but unsatisfied curiosity over the newspaper files that have chanced to survive.

What was so laboriously penned on the Embargo, the argument's pro and con as to the necessity of war in 1812, on the Panama Mission, the Adams and Clay "Coalition," on Jackson's proclamation

tion against the South Carolina nullifiers, the U. S. Bank, Van Buren and the Sub-Treasury, Oregon and the line of 54 degrees 40 minutes, the Wilmot Proviso, Squatter Sovereignty, and the rest, they would find only in the dust heap, and that all that was to survive of these was to be found only on the larger canvas of general history. But such impress as home topics and the ordinary life of the day had left on their pages without much care or thought on their part, they would find the chief objects of search by later generations, and that these were among the most vital of the bonds that connect the sympathies and curiosity of posterity with the life of their ancestors.

More than fifty years ago the practical sagacity of Horace Greeley saw that the country newspaper, by a careful record of the daily events and affairs of its own locality, could secure a field of its own where it could not be supplanted by the city journals. He advised country publishers to avail themselves of this vantage ground and to forego any attempt to compete with the city press in giving general news. He predicted that in this field the country newspaper would create a genuine interest and acquire a more substantial importance. This advice was not always well received. Some thought this more exclusive attention to local affairs would lower the dignity of the country newspaper, and they inquired with some asperity if Greeley meant to intimate that it was vocation enough for them to publish newspapers on the model of the primer, entitled "Farm Yard Journal!" But the change came. Local editors began to give more attention to their own parish, and it was found that if their journals could not reflect very much of the vast panorama of the world's affairs, they could be made the constant and speaking mirror of local life and activity. They finally took up their more effective work of recording the occurrences that make the sum of ordinary human life on the common plane, the events and doings of town and neighborhood, and in preserving the annals of our county affairs.

Now the country newspaper conducted with this view is read with an attention and interest that fully prove the wisdom of the new departure.

The first newspaper published in Herkimer county was the "Telescope," established in 1802 by Benjamin Cory. It was devoted to the support of the Federal party. It would be of interest, at any rate to the writer, to know just how Jefferson, then President, appeared to old Ben Cory's eyes, looking through his Federal "Telescope," and how did Ben Cory explain why Tom Jefferson had not burned up all the Bibles as was predicted if he should be elected? It is likely that the great abilities of Gaylord Griswold then in Congress and the Federal leader in this county, gave tone and authority to the Federal organ. Cory sold to David Holt and J. R. Robins. In 1805 the "Telescope" was continued by David Holt as editor and publisher under the name of the "Farmer's Monitor." The only copy of the "Monitor" known to be in existence, is dated September 2, 1806, and is in the collection of this society. It contains an extended obituary notice of Dr. William Petry, ancestor of the Earl family. It does not contain another line on local matters, except legal notices and advertisements, and it is significant of the changes of times and business, that a considerable part of the former are dated as of the town of Norway. The "Monitor" was discontinued in the summer of 1807 for the want of support, caused, it would seem, by the diversion of patronage to the "Pelican," which Cory started after selling the "Telescope." The "Pelican" is understood to have had most of the patronage of the merchants and lawyers, who were mostly Federalists.

The "Pelican" enlisted on the side of Governor Morgan Lewis, the representative of the Livingston family, who was nominated for Governor in 1804. His partisans in the Republican party were known as Lewisites or "quids." The opposition to Governor Lewis, fully developed in 1805, was led by Ambrose Spencer and Dewitt Clinton, representing the Clinton family. The "Monitor"

was on the side of the Clintonian faction. The "Pelican" was discontinued

1810. Benjamin Cory came to Herkimer from Vermont. Another Benjamin Cory, a member of the same family, for a time conducted a newspaper in Virginia and afterwards published the "Register" at Watertown, N. Y., an Anti-Masonic organ, and later a Whig paper. The "Register" was subsequently merged in the "Northern State Journal" edited by the writer from 1848 to 1851.

The "Herkimer American" was established in 1810 by John H. and H. Prentiss. Dewitt Clinton, in his diary of that year, kept on his prospecting tour west for a route for the Erie canal, refers to it as a Federal paper at Herkimer. Col. William L. Stone, afterwards of the "Commercial Advertiser" of New York, and biographer of Sir William Johnson and of Joseph Brant, had for a time the management of the "American." Thurlow Weed worked upon the "American" in 1812. He courted his wife here, then a Miss Ostrander, and Francis E. Spinner, a neighbor of his fiancée, was the friend of Weed and the bearer of the letters that passed between them. A few years after the "American" passed into the hands of Edward P. Seymour, who conducted it to 1831, when it was discontinued.

The "Bunker Hill" was brought out in 1810, at Herkimer, by G. G. Phinney. Mr. Benton, it seems, had copies, as he speaks of its political key as "pretty high toned," and quotes its motto, "Live Free or Die. Death is Not the Greatest of Evils." Phinney brought out the "Honest American" about 1812. This suggestive title was of course adopted as an antithesis to Prentiss' "American." However, some hostile print, name unknown, edited by one Charles Holt, disputed the title in the following paragraph: "A DISHONEST AMERICAN! The foolish rascal who to the disgrace of the name of an editor, is the lickspittle of the 'Public Advertiser,' cannot expect further newspaper notice, but will be silenced without disturbing our readers with so pitiful a subject." This called out a

counterblast quite in kind in which "mean blackguard" answers to "foolish rascal," the whole passage at arms being very much in the vein of the fictitious editorials imputed to the "Arizona Kicker." The editor of the "Honest American" refers to his antagonist as "Charley Holt," but we have no account of an editor of that name connected with the "American," and the one referred to may have been the editor of the "Bunker Hill." Both the "Honest American" and the "Bunker Hill" disappeared it is probable, some years before 1821.

The "Herkimer Herald" was brought out in 1828, at Herkimer, by John Carpenter, and was devoted to the support of Andrew Jackson and the rising Jackson party. Mr. Carpenter began the publication of the "Herald" under the auspices of Michael Hoffman, who not long before, and after some misgivings as to the expediency of that choice, had taken a decided stand for General Jackson for President. The "Herald" was discontinued about 1830. Why this special organ of the Jackson party triumphant that year, had so sudden an exit, is not known. From 1831 until the "Frankfort Democrat" was brought to Herkimer in 1844, there was no Democratic organ at the county seat. From 1830 and years following the Democratic organ was the "People's Friend," edited by Edward M. Griffing at Little Falls, superseding the "Herkimer Herald." Mr. Griffing's editorial efforts are much criticised in Mr. Hoffman's letters in those years, which may be to some degree accounted for by this transfer of the editorial tripod from Herkimer to Little Falls. The Federalists and Whigs had no organ at Herkimer from 1831 to 1838.

The Anti-Masonic crusade that followed the abduction and alleged murder of William Morgan in 1826, brought out a multitude of Anti-Masonic newspapers. Among them appeared at Herkimer, in 1828, the Republican "Farmer's Free Press," printed by David Holt and edited by B. B. Hotchkiss. After it had been published a short time, its utterances were so exasperating to the craft, that a mob gutted the office and threw

the type into the street. The press and recovered material were removed to Little Falls and afterwards used in the publication of the "Herkimer County Whig," published in 1833 by Larned W. Smith for the Whigs, then organizing for their contest with the Jackson party, the strenuous personality of Jackson for the time giving to his party his own name. Among the contributors to the columns of the "Whig" were Elisha P. Hurlbut, then active by voice and pen in the Whig cause, Jarvis N. Lake, and Elisha S. Capron, the latter a former Democrat, who joined the Whigs in 1833. Mr. Capron about 1849 visited California, wrote a history of that state, and going to New York soon after, became city judge by the appointment of Gov. Clark. The "Whig" was published about two years. The "Inquirer," a publication patronized by free thinkers on religious topics, was issued from the office of the "Whig" and it expired at the same time.

The founder of the "People's Friend" was Edward M. Griffing, who began its publication at Little Falls in September, 1821. He continued it about ten years, when it was brought out by an association of Republicans on the eve of its being sold at forced sale. It may be read in the letters referred to that the Republican leaders thought that "Brother Griffing" hardly filled the bill as a political editor, and were looking for an organ with a stronger tone. They gave the title of "Mohawk Courier" to the new organ, and it was published by Charles S. Benton & Co. Charles S. Benton was a brother of Nathaniel S. Benton, and represented this district in Congress in 1843-7. "Charlie" Benton, as he was familiarly called, was said to have "laughed himself into Congress," a jest founded on his very jovial manner and popular address. The "Courier" came to the proprietorship of Josiah A. Noonan about 1833, and he disposed of it to Horatio N. Johnson in 1836, about which time Mr. Noonan went west. Whatever else he may have accomplished there, he was the occasion of the bringing out of a newspaper at Milwaukee on one of the narrowest platforms ever

known. It was devoted, so the prospectus ran, to the sole purpose of "removing Josiah A. Noonan from the Milwaukee postoffice, and it was to be continued until he was ousted." Johnson sold to Elias G. Palmer in April, 1839. He bought it back in 1840, some time after March of that year, and was then associated with Allen W. Eaton, which connection was continued to 1856. Johnson was postmaster at Little Falls and adhered to Buchanan and the partisans who supported him. His partner, Eaton enlisted on the side of the Democrats who joined the Republican party formed in 1855, and his paper supported Fremont for the presidency in 1856. For some weeks of that year Mr. Johnson and Mr. Eaton had separate columns in the "Courier" in which they expressed their conflicting views of party policy. Johnson soon sold to Eaton, and under his control the "Courier" became an organ of the new Republican party. In March, 1861, Eaton sold to William Ayer and T. S. Brigham, and on their selling to Jean R. Stebbins in 1864, Mr. Stebbins united the "Courier" with the "Journal" as hereinafter related. In 1839 Mr. Griffing again entered the field with the "Rockton Enterprise," which persistently urged the adoption of the names of Rockton for the village of Little Falls. In 1850 that name was given the village by legislative act, but in 1852 the original name was resumed. This "Enterprise" lasted two years, and it was sometime afterwards succeeded by Mr. Griffing's last effort, the "Mirror," which Benton suggestively says he "published or pretended to publish" twice a month until 1844. The press and material then came to the hands of O. A. Bowe, and they were used by him in the publication of the "Herkimer Freeman." Mr. Griffing had respectable literary skill and he devoted the active part of his life to his various newspaper ventures.

The "Herkimer Journal" was established by an association of Whigs in 1837-8, among whom were Bloomfield Usher, Col. James A. Suiter, Harvey Doolittle, Jared B. Moss, L. L. Merry, Charles B. Ingham, Theodore Griswold,

Jacob Devendorf and Ira Coe, the latter two the Whig candidates for the assembly in 1846. The first editor was John C. Underwood, who became one of the conspicuous champions of the anti-slavery cause, and in 1846 the candidate of the Liberty party for representative in Congress, for the Herkimer and Montgomery district. Edward P. Seymour, of the old "Herkimer American" was the printer. Mr. Underwood was born in Litchfield, in this county, but for a time prior to 1837, had resided in Virginia. About 1848 he returned to Virginia, but his anti-slavery sentiments were so offensive that he was driven from the state in 1856 and returned north. When the Federal authority was re-established in Virginia, President Lincoln appointed him United States district judge for that district. Judge Underwood was a man of good abilities and devoted a large part of his life to advocating the anti-slavery cause. He died in December, 1873.

In 1838 Obadiah A. Bowe became the editor and publisher of the "Journal," the owners having presented the plant to him and Thurlow Weed also gave him pecuniary aid. The Whigs bought back the establishment in 1844. Bowe having continued it to that year. The Whigs employed Richard U. Shearman, afterwards of the "Utica Morning Herald," the "Oswego Whig" and other newspapers, to conduct the "Journal" in the Clay-Polk campaign of 1844. Mr. Shearman was succeeded in April, 1845, by George W. Smith, who was editor until 1848. Many of the editorials of the "Journal" of those years are found in the columns of the "Albany Evening Journal" of those years. Sanford Helmer was associated for two years in the publication of the "Journal." In June, 1848, Smith became for two years one of the publishers of the "Northern New York Journal" and editor to the fall of 1850. In 1851-3 he furnished the chief editorial matter of the "Boonville Ledger." In the Matteson-Huntington-Johnson congressional campaign of 1854, he had charge of the columns of the "Utica Morning Herald," from August to the close of the canvass and afterwards to

the end of the year. In 1861-2 he wrote many of the editorials of the "Utica Telegraph;" from 1866 to 1872 he wrote a large share of the political and other matter of the "Utica Daily Observer," and furnished during that period numerous editorials for the Democratic press of Central New York. Amos H. Prescott edited the "Herkimer Journal" in the summer of 1848 and during the Taylor-Cas -Van Buren campaign of that year, and for some time after.

In 1849 Orlando Squires obtained control of the establishment, and removed the "Journal" to Little Falls. In 1858, Xerxes A. Wilard took charge of the literary and political departments of the "Journal," and continued editor for two years, Daniel Ayer having as proprietor, the management of the local columns and the business of the establishment. Daniel Ayer died in January, 1861, and Jean R. Stebbins purchased the "Journal" from his widow in that month, and continued its publication until January, 1864. In the meantime the "Mohawk Courier" had passed into the hands of William Ayer and T. S. Brigham, from whom Mr. Stebbins purchased it in January, 1864, and he then united the two papers under the present title of "Journal and Courier." Those papers had been rivals in the Republican party, and this consolidation removed some elements of discord in the party, and under Mr. Stebbins' able administration the "Journal and Courier" became the most successful newspaper enterprise in the county. George Griswold Stebbins acquired an interest in 1866 and the paper was conducted from that time by J. R. and G. G. Stebbins, until May, 1883, when Ivan T. Burney came into the firm, its business style being Stebbins & Co. In November, 1886, J. R. Stebbins sold his interest to his partners and removed to Watertown to assume the presidency of the Agricultural Insurance Company. The "Journal and Courier" has since been conducted by Messrs. Stebbins & Burney with marked ability and success.

The "Herkimer Freeman" was started at Little Falls in 1844, by Obadiah A.

Bowe, upon his retiring from the Herkimer "Journal." It was an earnest advocate of the anti-slavery and temperance cause, and was continued by Mr. Bowe until 1850. At that time the "Freeman's" vocation was to a large degree superseded by the attitude of the Free Soil party, and a considerable portion of the Whig party taking anti-slavery ground, and it was suspended for want of patronage. In 1850, Mr. Bowe began the publication of the Mohawk "Times," at Mohawk, as a free soil organ, which he did not long continue. After the collapse of the "Times" he left the state and resumed his journalistic work in Vermont, and was afterward engaged on the "New York Tribune." Mr. Bowe was a breezy and trenchant writer, and the "Freeman," under his editorship, was a characteristic type of the aggressive anti-slavery and temperance literature of that day.

In the fall of 1842, Joseph M. Lyon came from Utica to Frankfort and began there the publication of the "Frankfort Democrat." With him was associated William B. Holmes, a lawyer of that village, as editor. In 1844, Mr. Lyon removed the plant to Herkimer, and continued the paper under the title of "Herkimer Democrat." It was then as before, an advocate of the Hunker faction of the Democratic party, until March 15, 1848, when the plant was bought and the paper issued by Robert Earl as proprietor and editor, who maintained it on the same lines. From Herkimer Mr. Lyon went to Rochester and engaged in the publication of the "Rochester Daily Courier," with Judge Warner, and retired in 1849. Mr. Lyon was in 1856 connected with the "Utica Observer," and was postmaster of Utica in 1859, under Buchanan. Subsequently he published a daily newspaper in Milwaukee, where he died.

Robert Earl was sole publisher and editor of the "Democrat" until 1850, when C. C. Witherstine acquired a half interest, and in 1853 he became sole owner. In 1854 he transferred an interest to Jacob S. Hays, who was associated with the establishment until his death in

1856. In 1860 Mr. Witherstine sold to Henry G. Crouch, now of the "Kings-ton Argus," and removed to Illinois. Mr. Crouch published the "Democrat" until 1864. At that time Mr. Witherstine, having returned to this state, again become proprietor. On May 1, 1869, he bought the "Little Falls Gazette" from Luce & Gilmore, and merged them in the style of "Herkimer Democrat and Little Falls Gazette." In 1872 the former title was resumed. The "Gazette," published a few years at Little Falls, it is believed was founded by B. F. Maxon and others, who sold to Luce & Gilmore.

In October, 1875, Horatio P. Witherstine became one of the publishers of the "Democrat" and the business was carried on by H. P. Witherstine & Co., until 1892. In that year C. C. Witherstine sold his interest to John W. Comings, who retired in 1894, and the business was then conducted by H. P. Witherstine until the establishment was organized in 1896 as the H. P. Witherstine Publishing Company.

In the year 1852, General Scott and Franklin Pierce being the candidates of the Whig and Democratic parties, the "Democrat" started a branch campaign paper at Mohawk, in June of that year, and continued it to the close of the campaign. The editorial and reading matter was furnished by Judge Earl and William L. Fish was business manager. It was named "The Tenth Legion." In the Jacksonian era, and for many years after, this name was a compliment paid to the Herkimer Democracy then as steadfast to that party and as reliable in all emergencies, as the famous Tenth Legion to the standard and fortunes of Cæsar.

The "Herkimer Democrat" has for nearly fifty-five years held a high position, and is now the oldest Democratic organ of the county. Under the management of Mr. Lyon, Judge Earl, Mr. Crouch, and the Messrs. Witherstine, it has always been a vigorous and steadfast advocate of the principles of the Democratic party.

The "Herkimer County Record" was

founded by George W. Nellis, the first issue being December 20, 1888, and it was continued by him to July 1, 1890, when Mr. Nellis sold a half interest to Walter E. Harris. Later in that year Nellis sold out to J. B. Fanckboner, previous to which Edwin Knight, now of the St. Johnsville "Enterprise," was associated with Nellis for some six months. In the summer of 1897, Mr. Emanuel Lyons purchased the interest of his associates, Fanckboner and Harris and is now successfully conducting the "Record." Mr. Nellis is now the editor and publisher of the Johnstown "Daily News," and the "Fulton County News" at Johnstown.

On the first day of November, 1898, Charles M. Redfield began the publication of the first daily newspaper in Herkimer, under the title of the "Evening Telegram." With him was associated Thos. C. Murray as local editor. On the 21st day of January, 1899, the "Telegram" was transferred to Edward Small and John L. Getman, who now conduct it with flattering prospects of permanent success.

The Frankfort "Star" was started by Charles M. Redfield in 1883. It was a small folio not long continued. J. G. Hardell began the publication at Newport of the "Newport Advertiser," January 1, 1881, issued monthly, and continued in January, 1882, as a weekly. It was enlarged to eight pages September 8, 1883, and the name was changed to "Newport Register." Mr. Hardell removed his establishment in 1885 to Frankfort and there publishes his newspaper under the title of the "Frankfort Register." The "Register" has always been independent in politics.

At Newport the "Register" has been succeeded by the "Newport Journal," which was started in 1894 by L. B. Tuttle and has since been continued by him in that village. Newport has had its share of newspaper ephemera. The first newspaper was the achievement of two youths of about fifteen, Merton Jackson and W. D. Holt. It was published in the old Yale lock shop for four or five months. Their young ambition is

worthy of a record. The "Adirondack Echo" was heard October 15, 1892, edited by E. Brate Rogers with John G. Fenner as manager. It was printed at Little Falls and survived a few months. In 1888 George W. Nellis and Fred G. Willard bought out the "Newport News," which Nellis sold to Willard before its appearance. It was a creditable sheet mechanically and otherwise, but continued only about six weeks.

The first newspaper at Ilion was the "Ilion Independent," issued by George W. Bungay, under the patronage of the Remingtons, in January, 1855. It was a distinctively temperance and free soil organ and the poetical tastes of the editor gave it a literary character in that direction. Its columns were garnished by so much of the editor's poetry that these effusions seemed to be the *raison d'être* of the "Independent" quite as much as concern for the cause of temperance or free soil. It was removed to Utica by Mr. Bungay in 1858, its title changed to "Central Independent," and was soon after merged in the "Utica Herald." Mr. Bungay read a poem at the Centennial celebration at Herkimer in 1876. He died in 1892. At this centennial, Horatio Seymour also contributed a paper which, on account of his illness, was read by his brother, John F. Seymour.

In 1858 the Remington brothers brought out at Ilion the "Loyal Citizen," a Republican paper, S. B. Loomis being editor and nominal owner. It was sustained by pecuniary aid from the Remingtons, under various managers, and finally adopted the name of "Ilion Citizen," which it still retains. In 1878 Rev. Albert E. Corse was editor and C. D. Rose business manager. George W. Weaver and F. L. Mead were publishers in 1884, and on January 1, 1889, Mr. Weaver's interest was purchased by Arthur T. Smith and Frank E. Easton, who with C. S. Munger, formed the Citizen Publishing Company, and now publish the "Citizen" at both Ilion and Herkimer. They are both ably edited and influential journals.

The "Ilion Citizen" has the distinction

of having first used electricity as a motive power. Its edition of March 14, 1884, was printed by electrical power, and the matter of the edition of September 26, 1884, was set up entirely by a type-setting machine, the first example in the world of the combination of electrical motive power and machine type-setting, in the making of a newspaper. Copies of the latter edition were eagerly sought for, to be placed in museums, public libraries and collections of curios, and a large edition fell far short of supplying the demand coming from many parts of the globe.

The "Watchword," a periodical devoted to the cause of temperance, was begun at Ilion, May 25, 1870, and published in the office of the "Citizen." It was one of the philanthropic enterprises of Eliphalet Remington, though his name did not appear as its founder. Rev. S. McKean had editorial charge, with Rev. Dwight Williams as associate. It was removed to Albany in April 1871, and continued under the same editorial charge for two years, when it was removed to another field. Besides the editors above named, Rev. C. T. Moss, Rev. A. E. Corse and Rev. A. Parke Burgess were connected with the "Citizen" and "Watchword," one or both, as editors or contributors.

The "Ilion News" was established March, 1889, by Clarence A. White. It was a patent eight page paper, the outside printed in New York. It was bought May 1, 1890, by C. D. Monsel, under whose management it is wholly a home publication and has been greatly improved. It comprises eight to sixteen pages and is a successful enterprise.

The first newspaper published in West Winfield was the "Standard Bearer," issued August 23, 1859, by C. Ackerman. In 1870 it passed to the hands of Wm. McLaughlin, and within that year to John H. Cunningham, who changed the name to "Winfield Standard" and, in 1872, sold to Miles A. Davis. Soon after the latter sold to McLaughlin, who transferred it to R. W. Ackerman, son of the first publisher. There were successive transfers to H. D. Kellogg, as a

partner, in 1874, to Wm. R. Merrill in 1875, and to Frank Spooner who removed it to Brookfield, Madison county. On April 1, 1883, Mr. Lansing started the "West Winfield News" and in about a year sold to C. D. Wheeler, and H. H. Wheeler was afterwards associated in its publication. In 1888 Stillman and Fitch became proprietors, and in April 1889, Clarence G. Fitch became sole owner of the "News" and conducted it to the winter of 1892-3, when the paper was discontinued.

The next newspaper in that village was the "West Winfield Star," started with a new plant by Frank L. Brace, August 18, 1892. Mr. Brace continued its publication until November 23, 1897. At that date the establishment was purchased by William E. Ames and in the last issue of that year he gave an extended and interesting history of West Winfield and of its business men, and good assurance that the "Star" was to continue to shine.

In 1874 Rich and Tucker started at Mohawk the "Mohawk Independent." It was sold by them in 18— to William E. Churchill and Clarence White, and they transferred the establishment to Miss Clara E. Morgan, in January, 1892. The paper was ably and creditably conducted by Miss Morgan, under the title of the "Mohawk Eagle," until she sold to Daniel S. Jones in January 1896. Shortly after Miss Morgan entered the ministry and now occupies the pulpit of the Universalist society at Potsdam, N. Y. The various other newspaper enterprises at Mohawk are elsewhere mentioned.

The "Herkimer County News," now at Little Falls, was started at Mohawk in 1868, by Williams & Pickens and, on the suggestion of the Democrats of Little Falls, it was transferred to that place in 1870. In the spring of 1871, L. W. Flagg became owner, and in August of that year it was purchased by T. M. Chapman and William R. Chapple. In 1874 Chapman sold his interest to Harry A. Tozer, whose interest Mr. Chapple bought in December, 1877, and conducted it as sole editor and

proprietor until September 3, 1892, when he sold an interest to Norman D. Olmstead, and the paper has since been conducted by Chapple & Olmstead. The "News" represents the Democratic party in our county and county's city, and sustains the Democratic cause with signal industry and ability.

The "Dairyman's Record," a semi-monthly publication, was begun at Little Falls for the purpose indicated by its title, in 1859, by Allen W. Eaton. The name was soon after changed to the "Dairy Farmer." In 1861 Eaton sold to Ayer & Brigham. It was thought that a publication of this character in the midst of an extensive dairy region could be sustained, but though aided by the large acquirements of Xerxes A. Willard, in that field, and his prolific pen devoted to the subject of dairying, it failed to reach a sufficiently wide field, and it was discontinued about 1862.

The Little Falls "Evening Times," the first daily newspaper of the county, was founded May 10, 1886, by the Co-operative Printing Company, composed of Robert Currie, Thomas Highland, Owen H. Highland, J. B. McGuire and Henry Langdon. The type and material were those of the "Mohawk Independent" previously published by C. A. Tucker. The first editor was John F. Devlin, but after a very short service he was succeeded by E. Marshall Pavey. In November, 1887, the "Times" was bought by an association, Mr. Pavey continuing as editor for about a year when he was succeeded by John M. Lee as editor and manager. Mr. Lee conducted the "Times" until August, 1889, when Jay E. Klock bought an interest and was editor and manager until June 15, 1891, when he retired to become editor of the Kingston, N. Y. "Freeman." He was succeeded by John Crowley, jr., as editor and manager. In July, 1892, Mr. Crowley, then one of the owners, bought the interests of his associates and became editor and sole proprietor. The "Times" is ably conducted and under Mr. Crowley's management it has become successful, and a permanent institution as a daily newspaper of the county.

In the fall of 1889, a number of Little Falls citizens formed a stock company, with a capital of \$3,000, and in October of that year began the publication of the second daily paper in Herkimer county, also published at Little Falls, under the title of the "Evening Herald," with John W. Lee as editor. Mr. Lee was after a time succeeded by John E. Willoughby, who continued to edit the paper until its publication was discontinued. Mr. Willoughby is now one of the editors of the "Amsterdam Daily Democrat." The "Herald" was a pronounced Republican paper and had the support of some of the most influential Republican politicians, in fact was started as a Republican "organ," yet in a little more than a year the \$3,000 capital was exhausted and the enterprise was so far from being self-sustaining that it was discontinued.

November 26th, 1894, still another daily paper, the "Evening Sun" was started at Little Falls by James J. Neville, who was both editor and publisher. The "Sun" was issued for a few months only and was then discontinued because of lack of support.

Early in the year 1893 the "Saturday Budget" was started in Little Falls by E. Brate Rogers, formerly a printer in the "News" office. It was issued weekly as a Cleveland organ, the editorial and political department being conducted by Ezra D. Beckwith. It failed to receive sufficient support for its maintenance, and its publication was continued but a few months.

The "Catholic Telegraph" was first issued at Little Falls, June 8, 1878, and was edited by James M. Ludden and M. J. Loudon. It was continued at Little Falls until January, 1881, and then removed to Albany where its publication was discontinued about a year later.

The "Norway Tidings" was begun January 1, 1887, by Fred Smith, as a temporary publication designed to collect such facts and events of the early history of Norway as were still available, to revive the names and memories of its first settlers, and to give some account of their descendants. The motto at the head of the columns of the "Tidings"

was so apt and even pathetic, that it may be repeated here: "Remember the days of old. Consider the years of many generations: ask thy father and he will show thee, thy elders and they will tell thee." It was published monthly for four years and was read with eager interest in this county and in many remote parts of the country. No effort in the line of periodical publications ever more fully accomplished its special purpose. It was a history of Norway that can never be excelled, and it would be fortunate for our society if the history of the other towns of the county could be written with the same research and skill in narration. The "Tidings" prepared the way for the centennial of Norway. September 7, 1887, the only town in the county that has had a similar celebration. An assemblage of 2,000 people was received and entertained with unbounded hospitality by the citizens of Norway, and the occasion was signalized by appropriate ceremonies and by addresses delivered by Fred Smith, Hon. Henry H. Holt, of Michigan, Hon. Patrick H. McEvoy and George W. Smith, and poems by Hon. J. Dryden Henderson and Rev. Charles H. Austin.

David Holt who was a pioneer publisher in Herkimer, came here from Hudson, in 1805 and was the most notable of the men connected with our early newspapers. Those in which he was engaged have been mentioned. He was postmaster many years at Herkimer, collector of internal revenue under the general government, and justice of the peace. He was appointed one of the judges of the common pleas court in 1817, first judge of that court in February, 1821, and held that position until March, 1825, when he was succeeded by Hiram Nolton. Judge Holt was a Clintonian, and the ascendancy of the anti-Clintonian, or "Bucktails," excluded him from farther political consideration. His official employments had not advanced his pecuniary fortunes, and retiring from office poor, he went back to his "case" and types. He was for a time engaged on the "Mohawk Courier," worked afterwards ten years in a print-

ing office in Albany, and finally went to Wisconsin, where he died sometime after 1849. His son Charles Holt, publisher of the Kankakee, Illinois, "Gazette," is well known to the readers of the "Herkimer Citizen," by his interesting reminiscences and sketches of life in Herkimer sixty years ago, contributed to that paper. Benton's history over forty years ago said of Judge Holt, that he "enjoyed a large share of confidence worthily bestowed and exerted an influence in political affairs not yet forgotten."

The newspapers of Dolgeville, commencing with the monthly publication of the "Dolgeville Herald," in May, 1889, have filled a notable space in this field in our county. Edward S. Schermerhorn was the first editor of the "Herald." The increasing circulation soon warranted a weekly issue, which appeared August 5, 1891. John C. Freund was editor, Van Cullen Jones assistant, and E. S. Schermerhorn had charge of the local department. In 1892 its circulation was about 12,000 copies, reaching all parts of this state and having a circulation in many others. In 1895 Mr. Jones became chief editor, and succeeding him were G. B. Pelton, E. D. Leeke, E. Marshal Pavey and Edward Nietack. In August, 1898, William Dolge assumed charge of the editorial and business departments and is now successfully conducting them. The "Herald" is Republican in politics, and has been especially devoted to the support of the protective system and to the discussion of economic questions. It gave much attention to the relations between labor and capital, profit sharing, to sociological topics and to forestry. It has always maintained a high literary standard. The "Herald" was mainly sustained by Mr. Alfred Dolge during his great business career at Dolgeville, and the expense, largely unremunerative, amounting, it is said, to near \$70,000 from 1892 to 1898, was borne in order to bring to general notice the rise of Dolgeville and its numerous industries. In September, 1897, Harry L. Everest commenced the publication

of the "Dolgeville Republican," of which Warren H. Bacon is editor. It has flourished since its first issue and bids fair to be successful and permanent. Dolgeville has also had its share of ephemeral newspapers. G. W. Edwards gave a brief existence to the "Dolgeville Record" in 1894, and Geo. W. Nellis and Emanuel Lyons brought out the "Dolgeville Independent" in 1896. Both were printed at Herkimer and each disappeared in a few months. When the "Independent" was discontinued, Mr. Lyons bought an interest in the "Herkimer County Record."

Of all the numerous ventures in newspapers in this county before 1842 only the "Herkimer Democrat," the "Mohawk Courier," and the "Herkimer Journal" survive, the latter two only in their union as "The Journal and Courier." But though the life of newspapers is short, the art of printing them is long. Baffled enterprise renews the experiment in new fields or resumes it in the old. There is indeed more persistent effort in the publication of newspapers than in most undertakings. There is a fascinating interest in the regular offering of a newspaper to a circle of readers, the editor's peculiar world, something that gratifies the natural egotism which impels all who think to proclaim their thoughts. If the newspaper does not fill the highest department of letters, it is more constantly and more closely in touch than any other with the general movement of ideas and affairs. The preparation of matter for his paper absorbs and concentrates the attention of the true editor quite as much as does the work of those engaged in other professions. His successive numbers, all *en rapport* with the map of busy life, and inspired by his growing mental culture, are a rythmical series that constitutes the poetry of an editor's life. Each recurring issue is the emanation of his hand and brain and brings with it the bliss of mental creation, a peculiar personal charm, such as is felt in hardly any other work. Experience forms a habit that makes the editor reluctant to leave his field of labor even for those

that afford larger pecuniary profit. Once initiated into the printing guild, the editor is likely to be more or less devoted to it for the rest of his life.

Down to 1830 the country journals were distributed largely by post-riders who reached districts to which mail routes had not been extended. The post rider's horn vied with the horn of the stage driver in waking the echoes of the neighborhood. These sights and sounds were a welcome relief to the monotony of country life. Sometimes, as we learn from the historian of Norway, a horn sounded from the steeple of a country church to summon the rural population to the Sabbath service held where the pioneer dead of the vicinage reposed.

As we take this glance backward, our attention lingers until we seem to hear a distant undertone that recalls the features and the simple incidents of that homely life of English yeomanry commemorated by Gray's Elegy. That immortal ideal of the lives of former generations of farmers, has a more solemn cadence and touches us more deeply than even Tennyson's "In Memoriam," though that be framed in loftier verse. We feel as we read that :

"Each in his narrow cell forever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

The breezy call of incense breathing morn,
The swallow twittering from the straw built shed,
The cock's shrill clarion, or the echoing horn
No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed."

In these days the editor's patrons and neighbors enlivened publication day by visiting the printing office for their papers. They came, too, to learn what had transpired from the great world outside, all of which they were certain "the printer" knew. This was the idyllic age of the country newspaper. If the editor was less an oracle than the "minister" or the lawyer, he was as much consulted.

In recalling the scenes of that olden time, when farming life was more of our country's life; when the social sentiment had more points of contact and

sympathy, and was diffused on an even plane, we think of the rural cemeteries where the ashes of silent generations rest and mingle with their native earth. After these simple headstones, after, even, the more ambitious sculptures—vain attempts to immortalize the common dust—shall be worn to oblivion by nature's unceasing war, the names of past generations will be longer perpetuated in the records of marriages and deaths, of accidents by flood and field, and war, contained in the county newspaper, which will remain the faithful and the enduring annalist of the home and the home life.

Judge David Holt, Col. William L. Stone, Judge John C. Underwood, Gen. Richard U. Shearman, Judge Amos H. Prescott, Hon. Charles S. Benton, Judge Robert Earl, Xerxes A. Willard, Jean R. Stebbins and others have, as editors and publishers, honored the press of Herkimer county, while men like Gaylord Griswold, Arphaxed Loomis, Michael Hoffman, Elisha P. Hurlbut and Nathaniel S. Benton, by contributing to the columns of their party organs, and to the press, have enforced their ideas of public policy upon the public mind, and largely moulded the political and legal history of the state.

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